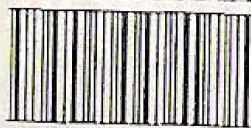


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REPORT on the PROGRAM of the **COMMUNIST PARTY** of the **SOVIET UNION** by **N. S. KHRUSHCHEV**

A presentation of the sweeping 20
Year Program for the construction of
communism in the Soviet Union.

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Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU

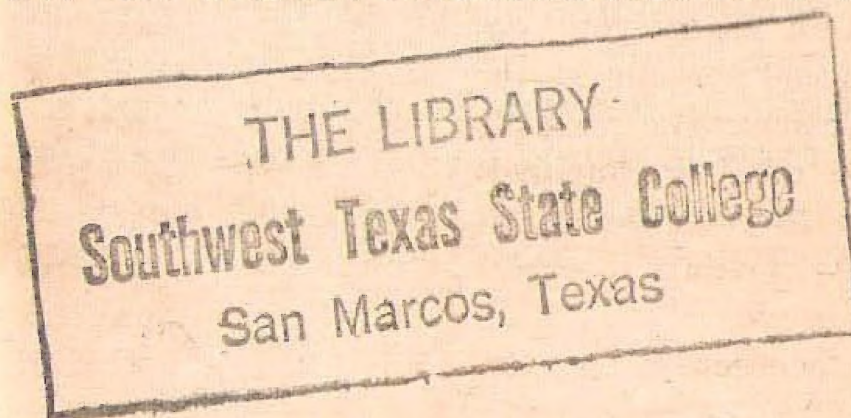
VOLUME II

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Report on the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

October 17, 1961

N. S. KHRUSHCHEV



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Introduction

Comrades, the Twentieth Congress instructed the Central Committee to draft a new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee has done so, and submits the draft, after it has been discussed by the Party and the people, to the Congress for consideration.

Our Congress will go down in history as the congress of the builders of communism, the congress that considered and adopted the great program for the building of the first communist society in the history of mankind.

From the rostrum of our Congress we address our first words of affection and loyalty to Marx, Engels and Lenin, the geniuses of mankind, the great leaders of the working class. Socialism, which Marx and Engels scientifically predicted as inevitable, socialism, the building of which was planned by Lenin, has been translated into reality in the Soviet Union. Our country is now on its way to new summits—the summits of communism.

In their struggle the working class and its Communist Party go through three historic stages of world impact—overthrow of the rule of the exploiters and establishment

of the dictatorship of the proletariat, construction of socialism, moulding of a communist society.

Our Party and people have accomplished the first two stages. And the fact that the Party was invariably successful in each of these stages is due, to a very great extent, to its having a true compass—its militant revolutionary Party programs built upon the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

The first two Programs were worked out with the immediate participation and guidance of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. When working out the third Program we constantly turned to Lenin for advice, and were guided by his masterly foresight, his brilliant ideas about the building of socialism and communism. This is why we have every reason to call this Program, too, a Leninist one.

The 20th century is a century of striking communist triumphs. In the earlier half of the century socialism gained a firm footing on our planet, and communism will do so in the latter half. The way to this is shown by the new Party Program, rightly described as the Communist Manifesto of the present epoch.

The draft Program embodies the collective thinking of the Party. All Soviet people say: This is our Program, it accords with our hopes and aspirations.

The ideas set forth in the Program express the cherished aspirations of all mankind. The draft has been heartily approved by the fraternal parties. It was received with great enthusiasm by the proletariat, by working people the world over. This speaks of the power of communism, of the great significance of our Program for the future of mankind.

Part One

THE HISTORIC VICTORIES OF SOCIALISM

I. LENIN'S PROGRAM HAS BEEN TRANSLATED INTO REALITY

Comrades, in October 1917 the Party won its first great victory on the historic path to communism: the rule of the exploiters was overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat was set up. The Party Program adopted at the Second Congress was fulfilled. The country entered upon the glorious, though unexplored, path of socialist transformation.

A fearless helmsman, our dearly beloved Lenin, stood on the bridge of the Soviet ship. He drew up a brilliant plan of socialist construction. Lenin's Party Program, adopted by the Eighth Congress, was a daring scientific forecast, a clearcut plan for the building of the new society and an ardent revolutionary appeal to the masses, all in one. The Party proceeded from the fact that we had everything needed to build socialism. It had deep faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the new system, and the heroism of the working people.

The difficulties of building the new system were count-

less. War was raging throughout the vast country. The joint force of international reaction and domestic counter-revolution bore down upon the Soviet Republic in an attempt to block mankind's road to socialism at its very inception.

The imperialist war and the invasion by interventionists played havoc with Russia's national economy, which had economically lagged 50 to 100 years behind the principal capitalist countries to begin with. In 1919 industrial output in the country was five times less than in 1913. Agriculture was at a low ebb.

The difficulties were amplified by the fact that we lacked the experience of organizing life along socialist lines, and had to blaze new paths in history. The Soviet people could not obtain any material or technical assistance from without. The country was in a hostile capitalist encirclement and had to carry on in a state of siege.

Truly titanic efforts were demanded of the Party and the people to surmount all these immense difficulties, and pave the way for the building of the new life.

Our enemies described us Communists as people capable not of building or creating, but only of destroying. Indeed, we tore down the exploiter system hateful to the people. But we did so in order to build up communism, a new and most just social system, on the soil cleared of the filth and abomination of capitalism. *The Communists have entered history as the greatest creative force, a force transforming and renewing the world.*

The facts of history have confirmed that the Communists are the most consistent patriots, the truest sons of their country, the most courageous champions of its in-

terests. It was we, the Bolsheviks, who saved the country from national disaster, from enslavement by foreign imperialists, and who made it great in the eyes of all mankind.

The bourgeois parties, politicians and ideologists met the plan for the building of socialism in Russia with savage hatred and scornful derision. They chanted in chorus that the "Bolshevist experiment" would inevitably fail. Churchill predicted a complete decline of all forms of life in Russia and the complete failure of the socialist and communist theories.

Today, we could ask Mr. Churchill: Who was the one that failed? Our country, which was economically at the tail of the world's principal countries, has now become the second industrial power and stands in the van of historical progress. Great Britain, in the meantime, once the first power in the world, has irretrievably lost its position. There you have visual proof of the grand transforming power of socialist ideas and of the failure of imperialist ideas.

The leaders of the Second International also tried to prove that it was impossible to build socialism in Russia. "Any radical destruction of capitalism is out of the question. . . . Capitalism will revive, it must revive, and probably very soon." This is what Karl Kautsky predicted for our country. He stated bluntly that the Bolshevik Party would not succeed in executing its program. The Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries chimed in with him. An official document of the Central Committee of the Right Socialist-Revolutionary Party said that "the attempt to turn an economically backward country with a demoralized industry and disorganized transport into a so-

cialist base will do no more than ravage the national economy and plunge the country into chaos and anarchy."

The bourgeois and social-democratic quasi-prophets strayed far from the truth. If the Right-wing Socialist leaders had been in the least honest, they would have had to admit that the Bolsheviks were right. The Communist Party turned out to be the only party that knew where to lead the people. It surmounted enormous difficulties and swept aside the Trotskyites, the Right-wing opportunists, the nationalist deviators and other defeatists, and translated its plans into reality, showing unparalleled consistency of word and deed.

The chief result of the activities of the Party and people is the complete and final victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. A great feat of world-wide historic impact has been accomplished. Mankind has been furnished with a science, tested in practice, on the establishment and development of socialism. It is now easier for the other peoples to advance to socialism.

The establishment and consolidation of the socialist state, a state of a new type, and of socialist democracy, a democracy of the highest type, is the principal achievement of the Party and the people in the *political sphere*. The Soviet Union is a country of truly popular rule, freedom and equality.

Our principal historic gains in the *economic sphere* are: the establishment of social ownership and the abolition of private ownership of the means of production which engenders acute conflicts between classes and nations. The bourgeoisie proclaimed that private property, which had existed for thousands of years, was everlasting and sacred.

We Communists boldly attacked that principle. Socialism ushered in an era of social ownership and put an end to anarchy in production, to economic crises and other social cataclysms.

In amazingly short order, a powerful industry was built up, forming the material basis of socialism, the cornerstone of our country's power and prosperity. The Party, equipped with Lenin's co-operative plan, solved the most difficult task next to taking power, that of helping the peasants go over to a socialist footing. The voluntary co-operation of the peasantry is an outstanding development in the socio-economic history of mankind.

Take a mental glance at our country, compare it with the past, and you will see how strikingly its face has changed, what a grand path we have traveled in these years.

Russia was regarded a land of the pick and wheelbarrow, the wooden plow and the spinning wheel. It had one-tenth of the machinery that the United States had, and one-fifth of what Germany had. Today the Soviet Union is a country of advanced technology, of high-powered machine tools and high-precision instruments, of assembly lines, electronic computers and spaceships. In 1961 the output of our machine-building and metal-working industry was 350 times greater than in 1913, and nearly 1,000 times greater than in 1919.

Russia was regarded a land of timber, straw and bast, and experienced a real metal famine. Today the Soviet Union is a country of steel and aluminium, of cement and plastics. We produce nearly as much steel as Britain, West Germany and France combined.

Russia was regarded a country of the paraffin lamp and the taper. When the delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets discussed the GOELRO Electrification Plan there was barely enough electric power in Moscow to light the building in which the Congress convened. Today the Soviet Union has the world's mightiest power-producing giants.

We generate more than 300,000 million kwh of electricity. In 1961 there will be about 160 times more power generated than in 1913, and 650 times more than in 1919.

Back in the days when the country was starting socialist construction, Lenin, speaking of the immense tasks that faced us, recalled Nekrasov's famous lines, filled with deep pain for his country and undying faith in its powers:

Wretched and abundant you are,
Mighty and impotent you are,
Mother Russia!

It was the unbending resolve of the Bolsheviks, Lenin proclaimed, "to achieve at any price that Russia should cease to be wretched and impotent and should become mighty and abundant in the full meaning of the word." * And we have achieved that!

In the social sphere the Party has realized the age-long hopes of the masses. All forms of oppression of man by man have been wiped out. The exploiting classes have been abolished, the working class has become the guiding force of society. The peasantry have gone over to socialist economic principles. Socialist unity of the entire Soviet people has emerged. Women have been given the same

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p. 134.

rights as men, and every opportunity to follow creative pursuits for the good of society.

In the ideological sphere there has been a revolution most far-reaching in content and great in its social significance and consequences. The Communists have raised aloft the torch of knowledge and science. The cultural revolution has wiped out illiteracy, and millions of people have gained access to the achievements of culture and science. A people's intelligentsia has been moulded. We have long since moved into first place in the world in the training of engineers.

A socialist culture, the prototype of the universal culture of the future, has emerged. Marxism-Leninism has become the ideology of Soviet society. The man-hating ideas nurtured by private ownership have receded into the past. Collective principles have triumphed in the life and work of Soviet people.

The Party has solved the *problem of relations between nations*, a most complicated problem that has troubled mankind for centuries and persists to this day in the capitalist world. Tsarist Russia was known as the "prison of the nations." The Soviet Union is known as the fraternal family of peoples, a country where nations live in friendship and flourish. The Soviet system has endowed with new life and prosperity all the previously oppressed and rightless peoples who stood at different stages of historical development, from the patriarchal clan to the capitalist stage. With the help of the more developed nations, above all the great Russian people, the previously backward peoples have bypassed the capitalist stage and risen to the level of the advanced nations. A new historical community

of people of different nationalities possessing common characteristics—the Soviet people—has taken shape in the U.S.S.R. They have a common socialist motherland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a common economic basis—the socialist economy—a common social class structure, a common ideology, that of Marxism-Leninism, a common goal, that of building communism, and many common features in their spiritual make-up, in their psychology.

People's living conditions have been altered radically as a result of all these colossal transformations. In tsarist Russia the worker's toil was hard and often lasted 12 to 14 hours. His wage was barely enough to keep body and soul together. Many workers lived in slums. The peasants were in the grip of a veritable land famine. Every third family had no horse to plow with. Taxes and other assessments claimed the greater part of the harvest. Most of the peasants were ruined, and swelled the army of unemployed in the towns.

Socialism gave the peoples a different life. Unemployment, that terrible scourge of the workingman, has long been wiped out. As a result of the elimination of unemployment and of reductions in the working day, the workers' real wages have risen 480 per cent, and the real incomes of peasants have risen more than 500 per cent. Gas, electricity, television, radio, refrigerators, books and newspapers have all come to the homes of the working people. House rents in our country are the lowest in the world. A law abolishing taxes is being put through. The fact that the average life span has risen to 69 years is striking testimony to our successes. Socialism has thereby

more than doubled life expectancy. Communism will yield a further rise in life expectancy and make the poet's dream—"We'll grow to be a hundred without growing old"—a reality.

Socialism has, for the first time in history, provided us with the basic social rights—the right to work, leisure, material security in old age, sickness and disability, and the right to education. Socialism has given Soviet people a grand sense of faith in their own and their children's future, a sense of security, and has moulded them in the spirit of historical optimism.

The colossal power of socialism came to the fore in the Great Patriotic War, in which the German-fascist armies, considered unbeatable, were crushed.

The victory of socialism has brought about far-reaching changes in the character of social development. For thousands of years people suffered from the spontaneous operation of objective social laws, whose cat's-paws they were. Under socialism the people not only become cognizant of objective laws, but master them. The workers and peasants, whom the exploiters treated as an inarticulate and inert mass, have revealed, in the socialist environment, a truly boundless capacity for development, wonders of heroism, unparalleled bravery and titanic strength. In the working people of all countries the example of the Soviet Union has nurtured confidence in their strength.

The key advantages displayed by the socialist system in our country provided the most conclusive answer to the question of what path mankind is to take. The facts show that all the plans of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties have gone bankrupt; these parties have not lived

up to their promises. They have not solved any of the basic social problems, nor could they solve them. History has corroborated that the Communists constitute the only socio-political force that actually solves the social problems troubling mankind and fulfils its programmatic undertakings.

II. THE CHIEF RESULTS OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Comrades, the Party Program adopted at the Eighth Congress pointed out that the development of imperialism and of its contradictions "has made inevitable the downfall of capitalism and transition to a higher type of socialist economy." The Program declared that the era of worldwide proletarian communist revolution had begun. All subsequent historic development proceeded just as the Marxist-Leninists had foreseen. Let us compare the political maps of the world in 1919 and in our day.

What do these comparisons reveal? The great revolutionary forces of modern time have radically refashioned the face of the earth. Imperialism has irretrievably lost its hold on the bulk of the peoples. The main avenue along which mankind advances has been established. It is socialism.

		1919		1961	
		Area	Population	Area	Population
		million sq. km.	%	million sq. km.	%
I. The world including:					
1) The socialist world	135.4	100	1,777	135.4	100
2) The rest of the world	21.7	16.0	138.0	25.9	1,072
	113.7	84.0	1,639	74.1	1,945
II. The big imperialist powers (U.S.A., Britain, Germany—F.R.G., France, Japan, Italy) and their colonies	60.3	44.5	855	18.6	13.7
III. All colonies, semi-colonies and dominions	104.5	77.2	1,230	14.2	10.5
IV. Ex-colonies and semi-colonies that won independence after 1919 (excluding socialist countries)	—	—	—	72.2	53.4
	—	—	—	1,228	10.7

The formation of the world socialist system is the principal result of the progressive development of society in our epoch. The triumph of socialist revolutions in China and in a number of other European and Asian countries has been the biggest development in world history since October 1917.

The world socialist system is a young system. But it has already accumulated enough experience to draw conclusions of enormous significance for the charting of the trends of mankind's further development.

That the socialist system inevitably replaces the capitalist has now been confirmed by the experience not of just one country, but of a large group of countries. The decisive advantages of socialism have been proved. The new system has ensured high rates of development of the productive forces, steadily rising living standards for the working people, freedom from exploitation, and broad social and political rights for the individual.

The glorious Marxist-Leninist parties of the fraternal countries have contributed substantially to the collective experience of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Besides the vast experience of the U.S.S.R., the international working-class movement is now equipped with the experience of people's democracy, a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the experience of peaceful transition from the democratic phase of revolution to the socialist phase; the experience of utilizing parliament and the multi-party system in the interests of society in industrially-developed countries; the experience of economically underdeveloped countries bypassing the capitalist stage of development in their transition to so-

cialism; and the experience of socialist change in the countryside without nationalizing land with consideration for the age-old tradition of deep attachment which the peasantry has for private landownership.

Socialism has developed a new type of economic and political relations between states and peoples. Socialist internationalism, all-round comradely co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance, and complete equality of all sovereign countries—those are the main features of the relations obtaining in the socialist community. The age-old antagonism between nations has been wiped out in the socialist community and the principles of fraternity and friendship among the peoples prevail.

The socialist system is turning into a factor that exercises a continuously mounting influence on world development in the interests of peace and social progress. By the force of its example the socialist community is inspiring the working class and all the working people in other countries to intensify their struggle against capitalist oppression, for their essential rights and interests, for social and national liberation, and lasting peace. The facts of life are leading the masses toward the realization that socialism is the true future of the world and that capitalism is its yesteryear.

The second historically significant result of world development is the collapse of the colonial system. The emergence and consolidation of socialism ushered in the era of liberation for the oppressed peoples. It was only when socialism became a powerful force that a historic development such as the liberation from colonial oppression of 1,500 million people could occur. The national-

liberation revolutions inflicted a staggering blow to the Bastille of colonialism. Forty-two sovereign states have sprung up on the ruins of the colonial empires.

Imperialism turned entire continents into prisons for the peoples. It put chains of slavery on hundreds of millions of people and fenced them off for centuries from civilization. It warped the economies of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, making them one-sided, with an emphasis on agriculture and raw materials. Judge for yourself, comrades. In terms of the capitalist economy, countries inhabited by more than two-thirds of the population of the non-socialist world produce as little as about one-tenth of the output of the manufacturing industry, approximately 3 per cent of the machinery and equipment, and 5 per cent of the metals. In the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa the annual income per head of the population is about 20 to 25 times lower than in the United States of America.

After the many years of "care" which the capitalist "civilizers" dispensed to the colonies, millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are literally starving to death. The average life span in those regions is about half of what it is in their former metropolitan countries. In Africa child mortality is extremely high. Over 80 per cent of Africa's adult population and over 40 per cent of Latin America's can neither read nor write. Such is the terrible price paid for the so-called civilization of the "free world." It is only natural that the peoples are tearing down the disgraceful system of relations created by the colonialists.

The third result of world development is an acute all-round weakening of capitalism and a fresh sharpening of

its general crisis. The facts have fully corroborated Lenin's analysis of capitalism and of imperialism, its highest stage, presented in the second Program of our Party. This is why we have deemed it necessary to reproduce the fundamental theses of the matter in the new Party Program as well.

The socialist and national-liberation revolutions, the growth of the world socialist system and the disintegration of the colonial system—these are the decisive factors deepening the general crisis of capitalism, which has in recent years entered a new, third stage. But they are not the only factors adding to the crisis of capitalism. The crisis of world capitalism is a far-flung and all-embracing process involving all aspects of life in bourgeois society—the economy, domestic and foreign policy, and the ideological superstructure.

To begin with, it should be noted that the *economic instability of capitalism has increased sharply and the uneven development of some countries in relation to others has become far more marked.* The rates of the economic development of the capitalist system are dropping, and in some countries are barely ahead of the growth of population. Economic crises are becoming more frequent, especially in the United States. War production has become a permanent element of the economy. Militarism has swelled to enormous proportions. Fifteen to twenty per cent of the national income is spent on armaments. A substantial portion of the manpower is not being used to produce material values. The chronic underloading of the production apparatus is constantly increasing in scale. During crises underloading of productive capacities in

some industries amounts to as much as 50 per cent. In many countries mass unemployment, to say nothing of agrarian over-population, has assumed the proportions of a real national calamity. According to official statistics 8-10 million out of 85 million industrial workers in the developed capitalist countries of North America and Western Europe, and in Japan and Australia, are fully unemployed. This means that on the average one person in every nine is unemployed.

The political instability of world capitalism has increased, especially as a result of mounting class antagonisms. This is indicated convincingly, among other things, by the deepening of the contradictions between the handful of monopolists and all the other sections of the people, and by the vast scale of the working-class struggle, the mounting struggle of the peasants and the mass manifestations of the working people in defense of democracy, against fascism and the despotic militarist regimes. It is also strikingly illustrated by the steady rise in the role and influence of the Communist parties.

The structure of imperialism is afflicted from top to bottom by an acute and deep-going crisis. This does not mean, of course, that imperialism is in a state of complete stagnation, that its productive forces are bogged down. A more rapid growth of capitalist economy may be observed at different periods in different capitalist countries under the influence of transient factors. But on the whole, capitalist relations of production are increasingly inhibiting the development of modern productive forces. In our time it is the rates of growth of production in the socialist countries that constitute the criterion of their development. In

the past decade the average annual rate of growth of the capitalist economy did not, on the whole, exceed 5 per cent, while it was nearly 14 per cent in the socialist world.

Imperialist ideologists and politicians are vainly trying to prove that capitalism still harbors great possibilities and "reserves" of development. The Right-wing Socialists and other defenders of imperialism capitalize on the new phenomena in capitalist economy to infer that capitalism is changing its spots and, of all things, evolving towards socialism. All that is nonsense, of course. In effect, these new phenomena could not do more to confirm Lenin's analysis of imperialism. They show that there is no such thing as the "transformation" of capitalism, and that the process of its growing enfeeblement, sharpening of contradictions, increasing decay and parasitism is well under way.

What, in substance, are the apologists of imperialism pinning their hopes on? Above all on state-monopoly capitalism. But, as we know, state-monopoly capitalism has been operative for quite some time. And what do the facts show? They reaffirm that state-monopoly capitalism by no means signifies the emergence of any new stage of capitalist development distinct from imperialism, that it does not signify the development of the bourgeois state into a mediator, a supra-class force that ostensibly safeguards private and public interests, the interests of both labor and capital, to an equal degree.

State-monopoly capitalism constitutes a fusion of the monopoly forces and the forces of the state into a single mechanism aligning all aspects of the nation's life with the interests of the financial oligarchy. The monopolies

remain the basis of the economy, and not just within the framework of individual countries, but also on the scale of the capitalist world as a whole. Suffice it to say that nearly one-third of world capitalist production is concentrated in the hands of only 200 major monopolies. Like giant octopuses, they have fastened their tentacles upon entire countries and continents, sucking the lifeblood out of the peoples.

True, the transition to state monopolies and increasing intervention by the state in the process of capitalist reproduction makes it possible to exercise a certain influence on the development of the productive forces and facilitates a mobilization of resources in the interests of the financial oligarchy. The state's intervention in economic relations in the interests of the monopolies has had a certain effect, inducing some growth of production and renewal of basic capital in the postwar period.

Conscious of the far-reaching social consequences likely to follow economic crises of the scale of 1929-1933, the monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to soften by methods of state control the destructive impact of the economic upheavals inherent in capitalism. However, state-monopoly capitalism does not cancel—nor can it cancel—the objective economic laws of capitalism, eliminate spontaneity and anarchy of production, economic crises and the other evils of the capitalist system.

In the U.S.A. state-monopoly capitalism is highly developed. But what good has it done the country? It is in the United States that underloading of plant is most acute. At a time when vast multitudes starve in the capitalist world, the United States hands out premiums for curtail-

ments of sown areas and reductions in the output of agricultural produce. In place of the vaunted "full employment," the U.S.A. has a permanent army of many millions of fully and partially unemployed.

It follows that the hopes pinned on state monopoly capitalism as a means of salvaging imperialism are essentially groundless.

American imperialism aspires to the role of citadel and champion of world capitalism. The United States is, undeniably, the richest and mightiest power in the capitalist world. But it is becoming more and more the epicenter of capitalism's economic difficulties. Furthermore, the fact should also be noted that during the entire last decade its share in world capitalist production and commerce has been dropping steadily. American capitalism has passed its prime, and is declining.

There is yet another reason why the designs of the United States to "integrate" the whole capitalist world under its aegis proved futile. This is the ineradicable economic strife between the imperialist states. The international state-monopoly organizations springing up under the slogan of integration of the capitalist countries, of alleviating the problem of markets, are in effect new forms of redividing the world capitalist market and are becoming sources of acute strain and conflict. Objectively, there are two trends that operate and intertwine in the imperialist camp. One is the trend towards joining all its forces against socialism, and the other is the trend towards mounting contradictions between the imperialist powers, and also between the imperialist powers and the other countries of the capitalist world. The United States has not succeeded,

and will not succeed, in overcoming the latter trend. The American financial oligarchy does not have the strength or the means to implement its claims to the role of savior of capitalism and, the more so, its claims to world domination.

Comrades, the more acutely the exploiting essence of capitalism comes to the fore, the more acute its anti-popular ideology and moral degradation become, the more stridently the advocates of the bourgeoisie try to extol capitalism. But what has capitalism given mankind? It warps the achievements of man's creative genius and turns them against him. It has turned the release of atomic energy into a menace to mankind. Capitalism turns every new technological advance against man. The wealth of a few countries is maintained by the poverty of the peoples of many other countries. Even the pure light of science, as Marx put it, is unable to shine under capitalism except on the dark background of ignorance.

Not only does a wretched handful of millionaires and multi-millionaires arbitrarily control the entire wealth of the capitalist world; it plays with the destinies of entire nations. Within the lifetime of a single generation the imperialists have started two world wars. The price paid by mankind for the policy of the imperialists amounts to about 30 million dead or crippled, to say nothing of the incalculable destruction of material values. Some investigators estimate that the cost of the wars and war preparations of the early half of the 20th century (1900-1953) added up in the whole world to a truly astronomical figure—more than \$4,000,000 million.

Let us see what could have been done for man's benefit

with these funds. The entire population of our planet could have been supplied free bread for half a century. Comfortable dwellings could have been built with these funds for 500 million families, i.e., for two-thirds of the world population.

At present imperialism compels mankind to spend at least \$100,000 million annually for military purposes. If only 20 per cent of that sum were annually spent on helping the underdeveloped countries in the course of 25 years, it would be possible to build power stations totaling 230 million kw and steel works producing 185 million tons of steel a year, irrigate more than 100 million hectares of land, and do a great many other things to improve the life of peoples. All this demonstrates once again how urgent the struggle for disarmament is to all the peoples.

To summarize the principal results of world development, we can say: History is developing the way Marx and Lenin predicted. The forces of socialism, all the forces of world progress, are on the upgrade. The peoples are more and more resolutely breaking away from imperialism. The downfall of imperialism and the triumph of socialism on a world scale are inevitable.

Part Two

COMMUNISM—THE GREAT GOAL OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

Comrades, the new Program is a new milestone in the history of our Party and of Soviet society as a whole. Each of our Party programs corresponds to a definite historical stage in the country's development. Yet all our programs are interlinked. Taken as integral parts of a single whole, they yield a clear-cut and time-tested Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution, the construction of socialism and communism.

The programs of the Party may be compared to a three-stage rocket. The first stage wrested our country away from the capitalist world, the second propelled it to socialism, and the third is to place it in the orbit of communism. It is a wonderful rocket, comrades! It follows the exact course charted by the great Lenin and by our revolutionary theory, and is powered by the greatest of all energies—the energy of the builders of communism.

What are the main features of the draft Program?

The main thing is that it is a *concrete, scientifically motivated program for the building of communism*. The draft shows clearly how the bright edifice of communism

is to be erected. We see how it should be built, how it looks from within and without, what kind of people will live in it, and what they will do to make it still more comfortable and attractive. We can proudly tell those who want to know what communism is: "Read our Party Program."

The draft Program marks a new stage in the development of the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The Program furnishes an explicit answer to all the basic questions of the theory and practice of the struggle for communism and to the key questions of present-day world development. The Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the C.P.S.U., which introduced much that was new in principle into the solution of the fundamental issues of Party life and the life of Soviet society, and into the analysis of the processes of world development, have been of enormous, truly historic importance in the drafting of the Program. It would have been much harder for us to work out such a program if there had been no Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the C.P.S.U.

The spirit and content of the draft, in their entirety, reflect the unity and indivisibility of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of communist construction. The Program defines concrete tasks in industry, agriculture, development of the state, science and culture and communist education. Comrades, just think of the heights the Soviet people have scaled, if they can chart the perspective of social development for so considerable a historical period.

The third Party Program is a program of the whole

Soviet people. When the Party was adopting its first program it was followed by small groups of politically conscious workers. When it was adopting its second program it was followed by the working class and the bulk of the working peasantry. Now it is followed by the whole Soviet people. Our people took the Party Program to their hearts as the greatest purpose of their lives.

The new Program signifies a full realization in practice of the Party slogan, "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man." It gives priority to matters concerning the further improvement of the people's material welfare and culture, the flowering of the human personality. And that is as it should be. The Bolsheviks hoisted the flag of revolution in order to make the life of the working people joyous and happy. The third Party Program ushers in a period when all the difficulties and hardships borne by the Soviet people in the name of its great cause will be rewarded a hundred-fold.

The draft Program proceeds from the new international conditions: *Communism is being built not in a capitalist encirclement, but under the conditions created by the existence of a world socialist system, the increasing supremacy of the socialist forces over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war.* The imperialist countries naturally strive to impede the economic and social progress of the Soviet land in every way, forcing it to incur defense expenditures. If this were not so, our rates of development would be still higher. Yet, as the forces of socialism increase and world imperialism grows weaker, more favorable conditions will arise for our economic and cultural development.

Our Program is imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism. Lenin's Party has always honorably fulfilled its obligations with respect to its brothers abroad. In October 1917 it lighted the dawn of liberation over the world. It built the lighthouse of socialism that all people can see. That lighthouse illumines their way towards the new social system. Lenin's Party will bear aloft the banner of internationalism in the future as well. The Party now considers it its prime internationalist duty to build communism in a historically brief period.

The draft Program is a document of true communist humanism; it is imbued with the ideas of peace and fraternity among nations. We place the continuously expanding might of our country at the service of peace and mankind's progress. Once the Soviet Union will have become the first industrial power, once the socialist system will have fully become the decisive factor of world development, and once the peace forces the world over will have grown still greater, the scales will tilt once and for all in favor of the forces of peace and the barometer of the international weather will show: "Clear. The menace of world war is gone, never to return."

Comrades, communism is mankind's age-old dream. The working masses trusted that slavery and dependence, abuse and poverty, the bitter struggle for one's daily bread, and wars between peoples would give place to a society where peace, labor, freedom, equality and fraternity reign supreme. The spontaneous movement of the masses produced utopian theories of a future golden age.

Spokesmen of utopian socialism produced trenchant criticisms of the system of exploitation and its ulcers. They

depicted society of the future. But they were closer to the truth when they spoke of what would be absent in that society, rather than when they outlined the ways of achieving socialism. For all that, even today, behind the imaginings in these pictures of an ideal social system we find germs of brilliant ideas. We gratefully recall the names of the great utopian Socialists Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Campanella, and More, and of our Russian revolutionary democrats—Chernyshevsky, Herzen, Belinsky and Dobrolybov, who came closer than the others to scientific socialism.

But it was Marx, Engels and Lenin who developed the theory of scientific communism and indicated realistic ways and means of establishing the new society and the revolutionary forces destined to destroy the old world and build the world of communism.

Marx and Engels defined the most characteristic features of communism. Today, when we are building communist society in practice, we cannot but admire the brilliant foresight of our teachers. Their vision actually reached across an entire century.

Lenin, the great founder of our Party, developed the Marxist teaching of communist society further. He furnished a clear-cut definition of the two phases of communism, charted the plan of building socialism and pointed out the objective laws of its development into communist society.

Our conception of the communist system is based entirely on the scientific conclusions of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Yet we have an advantage over them in one very essential respect: we live in the latter half of

the twentieth century and have at our disposal the vast and invaluable practical experience of socialist and communist construction. And not on some small island of Utopia cast away in the ocean, as Thomas More pictured it, not in a City of the Sun, as depicted by Tommaso Campanella, and not on a strip of land in distant America, as Robert Owen planned. No, the new life is being built on an immense section of the earth.

Not only are we able today to picture communist society more accurately, but also, and this is most important, to define the practical ways of building it, to impart concrete substance to the principles of scientific communism. We see more clearly and distinctly much that was hidden from our forerunners by the veil of time, because the trends of development of socialist society which lead to the victory of communism have by now become quite tangible. It stands to reason that even now, faithful to the example set by our teachers, we do not attempt to define all the details of a developed communist society.

The draft Program gives the following definition of communism:

"Communism is a classless social system with one single form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all sources of public wealth will gush forth abundantly, and the great principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs,' will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working peo-

ple in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labor for the good of society will become the prime, vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people."

Let me go into some of the aspects in the description of communist society. Communism implies highly-organized production centralized in terms of society as a whole and managed along the broadest democratic lines. Communist society is not an association of self-contained autonomous economic organisms. By no means. Communist society, more than any other, will need unified economic planning, organized distribution of labor and regulation of working time. The need of this springs from the demands presented by the development of the productive forces, from the far-reaching inter-relation of the various branches of economy, the interests of continuous technical progress and from the communist principles of distribution and consumption. Development of the communist economy is impossible, unless the entire people participate most actively in the management of production.

For the first time, the draft elaborates upon the concrete ways and means of effecting the great communist slogan, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." It is a proper combination of material labor incentives and increasing distribution through public funds that leads up to the implementation of the principles of communist equality.

Some people picture living conditions under communism wrongly and narrow-mindedly. They consider just the second part of the formula, "according to needs," and

reason something like this: "Under communism you work if you wish, or drift from the Far East to the West, and from the West to the South if you wish; you'll be provided according to needs all the same." A big spoon is all they are equipping themselves with for communism.

We have to disappoint them from the very outset. Their notion has nothing in common with communism. Communist society will have the most advanced technology, the most advanced and best organized production, the most advanced machinery. But it will be people that operate the machines. Machines are dead things unless there is a man to operate them. Thoroughness, good organization and discipline are therefore a golden rule, an obligatory standard of behavior for every workingman. He will not be made to perform his duties by the goad of hunger, as under capitalism; he will perform them consciously and of his own free will.

Everyone will be conscious of the duty to contribute one's labor to the creation of both the material and spiritual blessings. All Soviet people must work so well as to be able to say, when the bright edifice of communism is built: I have done my bit for it as well.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism emphasized that communism is not fenced off by a wall from socialism, that communism and socialism are two phases of one and the same socio-economic formation, distinguished from one another by the degree of economic development and the maturity of social relations.

Socialism does not develop on its own foundation. For all its immense achievements of worldwide historic impact, in many respects—the economic, moral—it still bears an

imprint of the old system, from which it has emerged. Communism is a higher and more perfect stage of social life, and can develop only after socialism is fully consolidated. Under communism all the survivals of the capitalist system will be completely stamped out.

The fact that communism develops on its own foundation predetermines the distinctive features of its construction. The transition from capitalism to socialism is effected under conditions of class struggle. It involves a radical break-up of social relations, a sweeping social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, the transition to communism proceeds in the absence of any exploiting classes, when all members of society—workers, peasants and intellectuals—have a vested interest in the victory of communism and work for it consciously.

It is natural therefore that the building of communism is effected by the most democratic methods, by way of improving and developing social relations, with due account of the disappearance of the old forms of life and the appearance of new forms, of their interconnection and mutual influence. Society will no longer experience the difficulties induced by class struggle within the country. All this will serve to accelerate the rates of social development in the period of transition to communism.

The historical limits of the draft Program are 20 years. Why did we set this term? When the draft Program was being discussed, some comrades wondered whether the time allocated to the task was not too long. No, comrades. To prepare society for the principles of communism we have to develop the productive forces

enormously and create an abundance of material and spiritual values. And that takes a certain amount of time. The bowl of communism is a bowl of abundance that must always be full. Everyone must contribute his bit to it, and everyone must take from it.

It would be a fatal error to decree the introduction of communism before all the necessary conditions for it have matured. If we were to proclaim that we introduce communism when the bowl is still far from full, we would be unable to take from it according to needs. In that case we would only discredit the ideas of communism, disrupt the initiative of the working people and retard the advance to communism. We base ourselves on strictly scientific estimates, which indicate that we shall, in the main, have built a communist society within 20 years.

What does it mean to build communism in the main? It means that:

in the *economic* sphere the material and technical basis of communism will be created, the Soviet Union will surpass the economic level of the most developed capitalist countries and move into first place for production per head of the population, the world's highest living standard will be ensured, and all the preconditions created to attain an abundance of material and cultural values;

in the sphere of *social* relations the still existing distinctions between classes will be eliminated; classes will fuse into a classless society of communist working people; the essential distinctions between town and country, and then between physical and mental labor, will, in the main, be eradicated; there will be greater economic and ideological community among nations; the features of the man of

communist society will develop, harmoniously combining ideological integrity, broad education, moral purity and physical perfection;

in the *political* sphere all citizens will participate in the administration of public affairs, and society will prepare itself for the full implementation of the principles of communist self-government through a most extensive development of socialist democracy.

Part Three

FROM SOCIALIST TO COMMUNIST ECONOMY

I. CREATION OF THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS OF COMMUNISM

Comrades, the draft Program opens up a majestic perspective for the building of unprecedentedly powerful productive forces in our country, for development of the Soviet Union into the world's leading industrial power. V. I. Lenin said: "Communism is of value only when it is economically substantiated." The draft Program furnishes this substantiation.

A material and technical basis of communism will be built up in the U.S.S.R. in the course of two decades. This is the principal economic task, the cornerstone of our Party's general line.

The building of the material and technical basis of communism is the decisive link in the chain of economic, social and cultural tasks, and is prescribed by the internal as well as the external conditions of our country's development. It will enable us to carry out the following most important tasks:

first, to build up unprecedentedly powerful productive forces and move into first place in the world for production per head of the population;

secondly, to achieve the world's highest productivity of labor, which, in the final analysis, is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system, and to equip the Soviet people with the most advanced technology, to turn labor into a source of joy, inspiration and creative endeavor;

thirdly, to develop the production of material values for the satisfaction of all the requirements of Soviet people, to ensure the highest standard of living for the whole population, to create all the conditions for the ultimate transition to distribution according to needs;

fourthly, to gradually convert the socialist relations of production into communist relations, to create a classless society, to erase the essential distinctions between town and country, and later on between mental and physical labor.

Last but not least, it is only in building up the material and technical basis of communism that we can win the economic competition with capitalism and always maintain the country's defenses at a level adequate to crush any aggressor who dares to draw the sword against the Soviet Union, the socialist world as a whole.

Do we have all we need to build up the material and technical basis of communism in two decades? Yes, comrades, we do. We have a social system of giant creative power, immense production capacities and inexhaustible natural resources. We have a first-class technology and the most advanced science in the world. The Soviet Union

has developed splendid qualified personnel equal to the tasks of communist construction. The Soviet people are led by a wise and battle-hardened Party.

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism will, naturally, call for tremendous funds. Capital investments in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. over the coming 20 years have been set at approximately 2,000,000 million rubles. Just think of the scale our capital construction has now assumed, comrades! We have to count in trillions!

Will the mobilization of such immense resources entail hardships and sacrifices, as in the period of industrialization? We have every reason to say that it will not. And primarily because a mighty industry has been built up in our country.

The role of heavy industry in the improvement of the people's welfare and in the solution of the problem of accumulation now presents itself in a new way. We know that heavy industry has two categories of plants—first, those that produce means of production for industries that also produce means of production, and, secondly, plants that produce means of production for the light and food industries, for agriculture, housing construction and for the cultural and public services. At the time when our heavy industry was only being built up we had to concentrate our resources primarily on the development of plants of the first category and restrict investments in the second group of plants. At present we are able to increase our capital investments considerably in the second category of plants as well, which will step up the rates of growth of popular consumption. In 1980 the output of

the first category of plants will have increased about six fold. Besides, our heavy industry will produce increasing quantities of cultural and household goods to meet the growing demand. In developing heavy industry, we proceed from Lenin's thesis that "means of production . . . are not manufactured for their own sake, but only because more and more means of production are demanded by the branches of industry manufacturing articles of consumption."

The 20-year national economic development plan (the general perspective) envisages considerably closer correlation between the rates of growth in the production of means of production and the production of articles of consumption. In 1929-40, in industry, the average annual rates of acceleration in the production of means of production exceeded the rates of accretion in the production of articles of consumption by nearly 70 per cent, whereas in 1961-1980 the gap between them will be approximately 20 per cent.

Heavy industry has always played, and will continue to play, the leading role in extended reproduction. The Party will continue to show constant concern for its growth, since it regards heavy industry as the decisive factor for the building of our material and technical basis and for rapid technical progress, as the basis for the consolidation of the socialist State's defense capacity. At the same time, the Party will do its utmost for heavy industry to ensure a steadily growing output of consumer goods.

We are equal to the planned scale of capital investment also because all social production and the national income will rise sharply. The farther we advance, the greater is

the "weight" of each per cent of the national income set aside for accumulation, and, consequently, the greater are the funds we can allocate to capital investment. And one more important circumstance. The further development of technology and rising productivity of labor will serve to increase output per each invested ruble.

On the strength of our experience and our realistic estimates of the future, we are able to plan the approximate scale of production and to speak about time limits for the building of the material and technical basis of communism in terms of concrete figures. Here are a few estimates made by our planning bodies.

The aggregate social product is the most general index for all branches of social production. It is planned to increase it about five-fold in the coming twenty years. The industrial output will rise not less than six-fold, and the aggregate agricultural output approximately 3.5-fold. This is tantamount to saying that another five industrial and more than two agrarian countries like the Soviet Union today will be created in our bountiful land.

In twenty years Soviet industry will produce nearly twice as much as is now produced in the whole non-socialist world.

In the coming 20 years the production of the means of production in our industry will increase approximately seven-fold. Our country's basic production assets will be five times as great as they are today. This means, in effect, that our industries will be totally re-equipped with the latest machinery. The production apparatus of the Soviet Union will be the most powerful, the newest and the most advanced. The accumulation of new production assets is a

Development of Soviet Industry in 1960-1980 (in prices of July 1, 1955)

Aggregate industrial output in wholesale factory prices (000 million rubles) including:	1960	1970	1980	No. of times greater
Production of means of production—group "A" (000 million rubles)	155	408	970-1,000	6.2-6.4
Production of consumer goods—group "B" (000 million rubles)	105	287	720-740	6.8-7.0
Electric power (000 million kwh)	292.3	900-1,000	2,700-3,000	9.2-10.3
Steel (000,000 tons)	65	145	250	3.8
Oil (000,000 tons)	148	390	690-710	4.7-4.8
Gas (000 million cu m)	47	310-325	680-720	14.4-15.2
Coal (000,000 tons)	513	686-700	1,180-1,200	2.3-2.34
Output of engineering and metal-working industries (000 million rubles)	34	115	334-375	9.8-11
Mineral fertilizers, in conventional units (000,000 tons)	13.9	77	125-135	9-9.7
Synthetic tars and plastics (000 tons)	332	5,300	19,000-21,000	57-63
Artificial and synthetic fiber (000 tons)	211	1,350	3,100-3,200	14.7-15.6
Cement (000,000 tons)	45.5	122	233-235	5.1-5.2
Textiles (000 million sq. m.)	6.6	13.6	20-22	3-3.3
Leather footwear (000,000 pairs)	419	825	900-1,000	2.1-2.4
Domestic, household and other manufactured goods (000 million rubles)	5.9	18	58-60	9.8-10.1

gradual process. It is therefore necessary to make the best use of all the operating means of production, of all available technology, raising its efficiency to the utmost.

The Soviet economy will continue to develop at a rapid pace. In the coming twenty years the average annual increase in industrial output will amount to not less than 9-10 per cent. This means that our rates of economic growth will continue to be much higher than those of the capitalist countries.

The draft Program of the C.P.S.U. has mapped out the *basic trends in the building of the material and technical basis of communism*.

The building of the material and technical basis of communism implies an advance to a new level of technology, proficiency in organization of production and constantly increasing development of the processes of concentration, specialization, cooperation and combination. Science is becoming more and more of an immediate productive force, and production a technological application of modern science. As Lenin repeatedly stressed, communism can never be built without the latest technology, without new scientific discoveries.

What new implements of labor, to use Marx's words, form the bone and sinew of communist production? They consist of a system of machines for comprehensive mechanization and automation. Under the conditions of communist construction automation ushers in a new era in the development of technology. The development and use of chemical products, of new highly-efficient materials, new objects of labor and widespread application of chemical methods will play an increasing role in production. There

is a pressing need to increase the durability and reliability of metals and other materials, especially those subjected to ultra-high pressures, temperatures and speeds. In the long-term view, sources of raw materials will be greatly increased by deeper penetration into the bowels of the earth and the use of the biological and mineral resources of the world ocean.

The draft Program points to the prime importance of the *electrification of the whole country*. Lenin said that "electrification upon the basis of the Soviet system will achieve final victory for the foundations of communism." Lenin's idea of complete electrification is the keynote of the entire program of communist economic construction.

Lenin presented the first comprehensive plan for the development of the country's economy—the GOELRO Plan, and described it as the Party's second program. It was envisaged to raise the output of electric power to 8,800 million kwh a year. The plan was implemented ahead of schedule. As far back as 1947 our country had moved into first place in Europe and second place in the world for electric power output.

The overall capacity of our power stations in 1960 amounted to 66,700,000 kw.

We are on our way to mastering new sources of energy and new methods of generating it. A solution of the problem of direct conversion of other types of energy into electric power, with a steep rise in efficiency of power-generating plants, will be highly important.

The general perspective envisages the priority development of electric power production. It is envisaged to

raise power output to 2,700,000 million-3,000,000 million kwh in 1980, i.e., to produce nine or ten times more than in 1960.

In 1980 our country will be generating roughly 50 per cent more power than all the other countries of the world combined are generating today. The result will be an eight- or nine-fold increase in the electric power equipment of industrial labor.

By then the Soviet Union is to exceed the United States not only in electric power output but in kilowatt-hours generated per head of the population.

This increase will result in a large-scale electrification of transport, agriculture and communal facilities in town and country.

The electrification of the whole country will thus play a key role in advancing all branches of the national economy and stimulating technological progress.

What grand, truly breathtaking plans, comrades! Indeed, the sun of communism is rising over our land!

The Party and the people are determined steadily to carry out their plans for construction, which will guarantee the fulfilment of Lenin's program for the complete electrification of the country.

Our planning bodies have worked out a tentative scheme for the construction of major thermal and hydropower stations. This scheme is subject to most thorough deliberation with respect to each individual station. Considerable alterations may be effected in it by further technical progress.

In the coming 20 years we are to build 180 mighty

hydropower stations, about 200 district powerhouses up to 3,000,000 kilowatts each, and 260 big heat-and-power stations.

In Eastern Siberia, we shall complete the Bratsk and Krasnoyarsk hydropower stations and by 1980 plan to build a few more large-scale ones, such as the Sayan, Ust-Ilim, Boguchany, Yeniseisk and Osinovka stations on the Angara and Yenisei, and a station on the Lower Tunguska. The capacity of each of these is to exceed 4,000,000 kilowatts. In addition, we shall build two groups of highly effective super-powerful thermal stations there, fueled with coal from the Kansk-Achinsk basin—the Irat-Bogotol group in the vicinity of Krasnoyarsk, and the Irsha-Borodino group (each of 3,000,000 kilowatts and up) in the area of Kansk-Taishet.

Large hydropower stations of importance both for electrification and irrigation are to be built in Central Asia. These include the Nurek and Rogun stations on the Vakhsh River and the Toktogul and Togustoruss stations on the Naryn. A number of large power stations will be built in Kazakhstan, including an Irtysh power group.

The building of the Saratov, Lower-Volga and Chelboksary hydropower stations and of two stations on the Kama River will complete the Volga-Kama hydropower cascade. A six-million-kilowatt hydropower station in the lower reaches of the Ob River will give its power to the single power grid of the European part of the country. In addition, construction is envisaged of a number of powerful thermal stations near Saratov, Stalingrad, Gorki and in the Kuibyshev-Ufa-Orenburg area.

Powerful thermal stations will go up in the Central and Central-Chernozom sections of the European part of the U.S.S.R., south and north-east of Moscow, in the Ukraine near Kiev, Kirovograd and Nikolayev, in the Ponceis Basin, in Latvia and in Byelorussia. The power industry in the Caucasus will be developed through utilization of hydro-resources and other sources of energy.

Realization of the plan will solve the important problem of the Greater Volga and Greater Dnieper. This will, naturally, entail considerable investments. But they will be returned in a comparatively short time. Estimates show that the output of cheap electric power by the Volga-Kama and Dnieper hydropower stations will almost double. More than 20 million hectares of arid land east of the Volga and in the South will be guaranteed against weather hazards, and it will be possible to reclaim more than 4 million hectares of marshland in the Polesye area and the Baltic republics.

Much freight from the north-western and other regions of the country and freight from the Baltic Sea will then be shipped to the Mediterranean via the Black Sea ports, rather than Gibraltar, and from the southern regions along the Dnieper, via the Pripyat and the Niemen, to the Baltic Sea. The route to the eastern section of the Mediterranean will be reduced by about one half.

The Party Program envisages a formidable development of machine-building. That is the only way to effect the plan set for *comprehensive mechanization and automation*. We must arrange for the mass production of many types of highly efficient and economical machines, instruments and appliances, of various automatic and

radio-electronic devices. We must develop a perfect system of machines for industry, agriculture and building.

In the 20 years we shall build 2,800 new engineering and metal-working plants, chiefly in the eastern region of the country, and reconstruct 1,900 old ones. This will enable us to raise the aggregate output of the machine building and metal-working industry 10- to 11-fold, including a more than 60-fold rise in the output of automatic and semi-automatic lines.

The *chemical industry* assumes exceptional importance. In the 20 years its output is to rise about 17-fold, coupled with a broad expansion of the range of products. Polymer chemistry is to advance substantially. The output of synthetic tars and plastics is to increase about 60-fold. The output of artificial and synthetic fiber, of special importance to the production of consumer goods, will climb about 15-fold. The production of mineral fertilizer is to be raised 9- to 10-fold.

Considerable attention is focused in the general perspective on such important branches of heavy industry as the *fuel and metallurgical industries*. Production of all types of fuel will increase about 4-fold. In the 20 years gas extraction is to be raised 14- to 15-fold, and coal extraction from 513 million tons in 1960 to 1,200 million tons in 1980. In 1980 oil extraction is to be 690-710 million tons. I might point out for the sake of comparison that in 1960 the U.S.S.R. extracted 148 million tons of oil, while the United States extracted 348 million tons.

The iron and steel industry is to have an annual output capacity of some 250 million tons of steel. In 1960 the Soviet Union produced 65 million tons of steel, and the

United States 90 million. In as little as nine years Soviet steel production will exceed the present U.S. output by about 55 million tons. Economists estimate that we can raise steel production to a still higher level. But for the time being we have adopted the target of about 250 million tons. The rapid development of substitutes for ferrous metals, improvements in the quality of metals, added economy of metals, and achievements in the designing and manufacturing of machines, will possibly enable us to get by with a smaller amount of steel. In that case the plans for the development of metallurgy will be accordingly amended.

Owing to the demands of such rapidly-growing branches as electric power engineering, chemistry, electronics, instrument-making, atomic and space engineering and high-speed transport, non-ferrous metals will claim a bigger share in the overall metal balance. The output of alloying non-ferrous metals, rare metals and semiconductor materials will have to be increased. The use of aluminium will expand to an especially marked degree.

The building materials industry should be developed at a high rate. Cement output in 1980 will amount to about 235 million tons, marking an increase of more than 400 per cent in 20 years.

In the coming 20 years the output of all the consumer goods industries is to increase approximately 5-fold. By 1980 the output of textiles, for example, is to rise more than 3-fold, bringing the annual figure up to 20-22 thousand million square meters. The annual output of leather footwear is to amount to something like 1,000 million pairs. The output of cultural and domestic goods, the

demand for which is rising rapidly, will increase 10-fold. This calls for a more expeditious and efficient utilization of capital investments in the light and food industry, and for hundreds of new factories. The concern shown for consumer and household goods, for domestic appliances, for all the things that make the life of Soviet people easier and more attractive, should not be less than, say, the concern shown for metallurgical equipment.

Comrades, we must take good heed of the fact that productivity of labor is decisive in the achievement of a communist level of production. Rising productivity of social labor is the yardstick of our progress and the most important source of improvement of the living standard. Every other approach to the matter is idle speculation.

We are faced with the formidable task of increasing production, of creating abundance. How to do it if the numerical growth of our labor resources has a limit—in 20 years it will amount to about 40 per cent, with a substantial portion of it going to the non-productive sphere—chiefly education and public health—and considering reductions of the working day? There is only one answer to this question: the productivity of labor has to be raised accordingly. Our planning bodies estimate that over nine tenths of the increase in the national income in 1961-1980 is to be derived from the rise in labor productivity. In the next ten years the labor productivity in Soviet industry will rise approximately two-fold, and in 20 years 4- to 4.2-fold. In view of reductions in the working day, the growth of output per working hour will be still higher.

In the coming 20 years the distribution of the produc-

tive forces is to be further improved. This will enable us to economize social labor to the maximum, to achieve high rates of growth of production and to bring new colossal natural wealth into the service of society.

In the sphere of *distribution of the productive forces* it is proposed:

to build up powerful fuel and power-producing centers in Siberia, based on open-cast deposits of cheap coal and on the vast hydropower resources of the Angara and Yenisei;

to turn Central Asia into a key power-producing area, based on its immense resources of gas and hydropower;

to build up new powerful metallurgical centers, so that by 1980 the country should have all-Union metallurgical bases—in the Urals, the Ukraine, in regions of Siberia and the Far East, in Kazakhstan and in the central regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R.;

to establish large centers of the chemical industry in regions with abundant resources of cheap natural and petroleum gases, and of the oil refining industry, primarily in the Urals, in the Volga area, the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, Siberia and Central Asia;

to build in regions east of the Urals powerful machine-building industries to meet the bulk of the needs of these areas in machines and equipment;

to carry out large-scale works transferring large masses of water from the northern regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R. to the Volga basin; to supply water to Central Kazakhstan, Tselinny Territory, the Donets basin and the Urals; to build water-regulating reservoirs in Cen-

tral Asia, on the Volga, the Dnieper, the Bug and the Dniester; and to develop on an extensive scale irrigated and meliorated agriculture.

Such are the general prospects for the development of our industry. They are truly grand prospects. But we know perfectly well that the plan of today will become reality tomorrow. The determination of our Party and the people, a people of giant strength, is an earnest thereof!

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Comrades, the draft Program of our Party furnishes a thorough analysis of the social, economic and political changes that have taken place in the countryside as a result of the victory of the collective-farm system and the consolidation of the socialist system of agriculture. The establishment in the U.S.S.R. of a socialist system of agriculture is a historic victory for our Party, for the Soviet people as a whole.

When the working class accomplished the revolution under the leadership of Lenin's Party, our enemies took solace in the hope that the Bolsheviks would not succeed in solving the peasant problem, that the peasant would never agree to give up his strip of land and that it would be impossible to turn the peasant-proprietor into a peasant-collectivist.

But the hopes of our enemies foundered. Lenin worked out his brilliant co-operative plan. Guided by it, the Party

filled millions upon millions of peasants to a new life. Not only did the deep socialist furrow erase the boundaries between the individual land-holdings, but it also refashioned the private-owner mentality of the peasant. Today we are witnessing the triumph of Lenin's ideas in the reorganization of agriculture, and in the millions of peasants having joined communist construction. *Our Party can take legitimate pride in the fact that it has brought up a new type of peasant, one who marches in step with the heroic working class and is an active builder of the new life.*

Along with industry and its striking force, heavy industry, agriculture in the U.S.S.R. constitutes a powerful socialist economy that knows no crises or upheavals.

We have fulfilled the first part of Lenin's co-operative plan by having guided the peasantry along the kolkhoz path, developed a far-flung network of state farms. We shall now have to make a new decisive step forward, ensure an advancement of all the collective and state farms, and raise their production to a level worthy of communism.

At the present stage of communist construction, the C.P.S.U. considers the following to be the chief tasks in the sphere of agriculture:

to achieve an abundance of high-quality products for the people and of raw materials for industry;

to ensure a gradual transition of the Soviet countryside to communist social relations and to eliminate, in the main, the distinctions between town and country on the basis of a powerful expansion of the productive forces in agriculture.

Let me go into the basic problems of agricultural development, which are posed by life and the practice of communist construction and constitute the most important theses in the draft Party Program.

The Communist Party has proclaimed a grand and noble goal—the full satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of man. It will take an unprecedentedly high level of material production to attain that goal. That is why the draft Party Program presents to the people an imposing plan of agricultural development. As we discuss the Program we speak in specific terms both about our exciting times and about the future of socialist economy. That was how Lenin taught us to approach the tasks of communist construction. In the spring of 1920, Lenin wrote in a letter to Party organizations concerning preparations for the 9th Party Congress, "We must go forward, we must look ahead, we must bring to the Congress the *analyzed practical experience* of economic development, weighed and meticulously compiled by the joint effort, the common labor of all Party members."*

Such practical experience of economic development has been put into our economic plans, into the agricultural targets. The draft Program envisages that in twenty years the aggregate agricultural output will rise about 3.5-fold, the aggregate output of grain more than 2-fold, of meat nearly 4-fold and of milk nearly 3-fold.

What products and how much of them must we produce to satisfy the requirements of the people in full, given the prospective development of Soviet society? On the

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 376.

instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, the State Economic Council has submitted estimates of the volume of production our country must attain in the coming 20 years. Let me present these estimates.

As you see, the Party has big plans. Such a vast output of agricultural produce may appear unrealistic to some people. The figures are indeed staggering. To be sure, for many decades, right up to 1954, the aggregate *grain* harvest in our country was about 82 million tons. It is only in the last few years that we began to harvest 130-138 million tons of grain by virtue of the virgin land development and the introduction of corn. For a long time, the state procured about 33 million tons of grain, and it is only in the last few years that the procurements were raised to 49.1-57.3 million tons. By 1980 grain production is to be raised to 290-310 million, and state purchases to 115 million tons.

Production of Agricultural Produce in 1960-1980

	1960	1970	1980
Grain (million tons)	134	230	290-310
Meat (000,000 tons, dead weight)	8.7	25	30-32
Milk (000,000 tons)	61.7	135	170-180
Eggs (000 million pcs)	27.4	68	110-116
Wool (000 tons)	357	800	1,045-1,155
Raw cotton (000,000 tons)	4.3	8	10-11
Sugar beet (at refineries, 000,000 tons)	57.7	86	98-108
Oil-bearing seeds (000,000 tons)	4.3	8	9-10
Potatoes (000,000)	84.4	140	156
Vegetables and melons (000,000 tons)	19.2	47	55
Fruit (000,000 tons)	4.9	28	51

In making our great plans, we firmly believe that they will be successfully fulfilled. Our confidence stems from realistic estimates, the incalculable potentialities contained in the socialist system of economy, and from the devoted labor of the Soviet people and its good organization.

Let us look into the prospective growth of grain production in the major republics—the Russian Federation, and the Ukrainian and Kazakh Republics.

We shall talk with the Byelorussians in Byelorussia, we shall whisper into each other's ears, there is something to whisper about.

What contribution is to be made by the working people of the *Russian Federation* to the tasks set in the draft Party Program? In 1960 the collective and state farms of the R.S.F.S.R. produced 78 million tons of grain, and sold the state 29.5 million tons. By 1980 they are to raise production to 196 million tons, and grain sales to the state to 66-82 million tons.

Perhaps the bourgeois press will write in connection with this—you see what an imagination Khrushchev has about the plans for production of agricultural output! Let these gentlemen write, but not forget that this is being said at the Congress of the Party, on behalf of the Central Committee. The Congress will call upon the Party, the people, and the people will move mountains!

It follows that the *Russian Federation* is to increase the production and procurements of grain 250 per cent. It stands to reason that the task is impracticable with the present crop structures, with millions of hectares sown to oats and other unproductive crops and with vast areas in the humid zone allowed to lie fallow.

I might say in jest: if certain workers continue to be stubborn, to take up land with oats, we shall feed them with oatmeal. And not the sort of oatmeal which is given to children, but coarse ground, the kind about which the Red Army men said during the Civil War: you don't know, damn it, whether you are getting an allowance of victuals or fodder! But if we act upon the experience of the foremost farms and research institutions and revise the crop structure, if we replace the less productive crops more boldly and resolutely and make the most of the available opportunities of raising the yielding capacity, the projected grain output will definitely be achieved, and earlier than 1980.

Through the use of what reserves do we expect to carry out the task? A certain amount of grain will be obtained by cultivating lands that lie idle at present. But it is by substituting more productive for less productive crops and by increasing the yield of all crops that we will achieve most of the increase in grain output.

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party for the Russian Federation and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation have, jointly with scientists and specialists, worked out a new crop structure, which offers great prospects of raising grain production. What is new about this structure? The areas under unprofitable and unproductive crops are to be sharply reduced, those under oats by 6,000,000 hectares, and under fodder grass by 9,000,000 hectares. Fallow land in the humid zone is to be abolished on an area of 9,000,000 hectares.

All in all, 24,000,000 hectares are to be released for more valuable crops. The areas under grain corn, peas,

fodder beans and other valuable crops are to be increased thanks to these lands.

The collective and state farms plan to expand *areas under corn* for dry grain from 2.4 million to 7 million hectares. In terms of a harvest of 40 centners of corn per hectare, this will yield 28 million tons of grain.

The area under *leguminous crops* in the republic will expand from 2.6 million to 19 million hectares, including as much as 16.5 million hectares under peas and fodder beans. In terms of a harvest of about 20 centners per hectare this will yield 38 million tons of grain.

The *area under wheat* and other cereals will amount to 68 million hectares. In terms of a harvest of 20 centners per hectare, the total yield of these crops will exceed 130 million tons.

The introduction of corn for grain and of peas and beans, and the increase in the yield of all crops will thus enable the collective and state farms of the R.S.F.S.R. to produce more than 196 million tons of grain a year and to sell the state 66-82 million tons. To present the feasibility of growing so much marketable grain more visually, I want to draw your attention to the following figures. In 1961 the Russian Federation, according to plan, is to sell the state 34.4-36 million tons of grain. If we sow leguminous crops in place of the 9 million hectares of unproductive fodder grass and 9 million hectares of the above-mentioned fallow areas, and harvest 20 centners per hectare, this alone will yield 36 million tons. In effect this will be marketable grain, since the collective and state farms get practically nothing from the above-mentioned areas at the present time. It follows that another 36 mil-

lion tons will be added to the present grain sales figure stipulated in the plan, and the state purchases will add up to more than 66 million tons of grain. Thus, selling the state 66-82 million tons of grain is, after all, not too high a hurdle for the collective and state farms of the Russian Federation to take.

Let us all applaud, comrades.

We are sure that when the decision is adopted, the workers of the Russian Federation will mobilize their forces, and the task will be solved!

The yield capacity of wheat and other grain crops and of leguminous crops is estimated for the R.S.F.S.R. at 20 centners per hectare.

Comrades, an average crop yield of 20 centners per hectare has been achieved for a whole 20 years. Is this the figure that is in our power, are these our potentialities! No, we have much greater potentialities.

In the near future the Soviet Union will occupy a position in the international grain market which will make the Messrs. imperialists feel how our agriculture is growing!

An estimate like that for a term of 20 years is even moderate. Many collective and state farms in our country are now already harvesting 25 to 30, and even 40, centners of wheat and other cereals per hectare. They get this yield at the present level of organization of production, of agricultural science and technology. But science will advance from year to year, providing practice with great new opportunities. Better grades and hybrids of agricultural plants will appear, and the output of organic and mineral fertilizers, herbicides and other chemicals will rise steeply. The collective and state farms will get im-

proved agricultural machinery. All this will make it possible not only to attain, but also to surpass, the projected level of grain production and state purchases.

Let us take the estimates submitted by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and Council of Ministers. All of you know that prior to the extensive introduction of corn, the *Ukraine's* grain potential amounted to something like 21-25 million tons, and procurements to 6.6-8.2 million tons.

Now that such highly productive crops as corn, peas and fodder beans are being extensively cultivated, *the working people of the Ukraine are quite sure that they will raise grain production to 62 million and purchases to 25 million tons.*

How will the crop pattern change on the Ukrainian collective and state farms? An area of 6.5 million hectares will be sown to winter wheat, over five million hectares, or 28 per cent of the grain acreage to corn, and about four million hectares, or 21 percent of the grain acreage, to leguminous crops. Corn and leguminous crops, being the most productive, will comprise nearly half the grain acreage in the Ukraine, and their share in the aggregate grain output will be 60 per cent.

It is planned to obtain the following yields per hectare:

Grain crops	35 centners
including:	
Winter wheat	30 centners
Corn	50 centners
Peas	30 centners
Fodder beans	32 centners

This year's practice shows that these figures are realistic, for many collective and state farms grew 70 to 80 centners of corn and 30 to 40 centners of wheat and peas per hectare.

The Party assigns a big role in raising the grain output to *Kazakhstan*. The republic has its distinctive features. Save for its southern regions, corn is now grown there chiefly for silage. The increase in grain output will therefore have to be effected through higher yields, extensive cultivation of leguminous crops and a further development of new land. In the future, when scientists have produced strains of corn with a shorter period of vegetation, corn will probably be grown for grain in the virgin-land development area as well.

I must say that while I was preparing for the report, I received a letter from a plant breeder in Azerbaijan. He says that he has succeeded in creating a variety of corn with a vegetative period of approximately 60 days. If that is really so, then simply colossal opportunities open up for the expansion and extension of corn crops to the North, for its cultivation there for grain.

Mr. Rusk told me in Vienna that in America they allegedly had a similar variety of corn. However, this statement of his has not been confirmed, although Mr. Rusk did promise to prove that it was so. Americans who know corn, for instance, Mr. Garst, say that there is no such corn in America. But if there is none in America, it would be good to propagate such a variety of corn in the Soviet Union.

But it must be well understood that this is a very difficult task. And we do not make the development of

agriculture dependent on the solution of this problem. Even if such corn is not developed, then even with the varieties which do exist we shall not only fulfill but overfulfill our plans.

What crop structure is taking shape in the virgin-land development area of Kazakhstan? All in all, including land to be newly developed, about 32 million hectares in the republic are to be sown to wheat, other grain crops, leguminous crops and corn for silage. Of this acreage 50-55 per cent are to be sown to wheat and other grain crops, 30-35 per cent to peas and fodder beans, and 10 per cent to fodder corn and sugar beet. Those are tentative estimates for just the chief crops. The economy will, naturally, need a wider range of crops; we'll need potatoes, vegetables and oil-bearing plants. But, all the same, chief emphasis in the virgin-land development area will be on wheat, peas, fodder beans, corn for grain and silage, and on sugar beet for fodder.

Given this crop pattern, the grain balance will shape up as follows:

An area of 17.6 million hectares will go to wheat and other grain crops. Given a yield of 20 centners per hectare, this will amount to 35.2 million tons of grain. Of this amount the state farms and kolchozes will be able to sell about 24.6 million tons to the state.

Peas and fodder beans will occupy an area of 11 million hectares. With an expected yield of 20 centners per hectare, the aggregate output will amount to 22 million tons. Of this amount about 10 million tons can be sold to the state.

It is possible, therefore, to raise the aggregate grain

harvest in Kazakhstan to 57.3 million tons, and to sell more than 33 million tons to the state.

Kazakhstan, like the other republics, has tremendous potentialities for raising per-hectare yields. When the Party set the task of developing the virgin lands, the yield was estimated at eight centners per hectare. As experience accumulated and farming techniques improved, the yields rose considerably at many farms. At present some state farms and kolchozes in the newly-developed areas get 20 and more centners of grain, chiefly of wheat, per hectare on large areas.

The Mamlyutsky State Farm, North-Kazakhstan Region, annually harvests 20-22 centners of grain per hectare. High yields are obtained by the Kustanaisky, Petropavlovsky, Kiyalinsky, Chandaksky and other state farms.

Farms broadly cultivating row and leguminous crops, which are a good predecessor to spring wheat, obtain especially good results. The Fyodorovsky State Farm, of Kustanai Region, this year obtained the following yield for spring wheat sown after corn: 26 centners per hectare on field No. 3, and 22 centners per hectare on field No. 7.

We have such examples not only in Kazakhstan. Many of you know the Altai Agricultural Research Institute. It has been getting a very high stable grain yield for some years by extensively cultivating corn, leguminous and other row crops. In 1961 the Institute harvested 20 centners of grain per hectare on an area of 6,359 hectares, including 20.4 centners of wheat per hectare on an area of 5,140 hectares. And the new Barnaulka-32 wheat yielded 44 centners per hectare. The Strana Sovietov Collective Farm, of Altai Territory, has averaged 20.5 cent-

ners of grain per hectare for the last five years. The team headed by Alexander Bekker, who is a delegate to our Congress, harvested an average of 23 centners of grain per hectare.

The experience gained by collective and state farms suggests ways of developing agriculture on new lands. We cannot any longer restrict crop farming to spring wheat. Along with wheat, we must broadly cultivate corn, peas, fodder beans and fodder sugar beet, which are important for more efficient agriculture and bigger crop yields, for the rapid progress of livestock farming and for the development of the state farms set up on the new lands into highly productive farms.

Why does the Party attach so much importance to corn and leguminous crops in the solution of the grain and livestock problem? Many years of experience show that these crops have no equal in yielding capacity and other merits. It has already been noted in the Central Committee Report how much corn has done to raise grain production in the Ukraine, Krasnodar Territory and other regions of the country.

It will probably be right to put leguminous crops on a par with corn in importance. Peas and beans are old crops, known to peasants for centuries. There is scarcely a peasant in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia or the Baltic Republics who would not grow good pea harvests. Unfortunately, the people who had for long headed the Ministry of Agriculture of the U.S.S.R. brought leguminous crops into disrepute.

But there have been enthusiasts who cultivated leguminous crops with loving care and showed all the collective

and state farms the proper way to obtain bigger grain harvests.

Vasili Mikhailovich Kavun, chairman of the Stalin Kolkhoz, of Vinnitsa Region, is a delegate to the Twenty-Second Party Congress. He has enlightened many people with regard to leguminous crops. His kolkhoz has been producing good pea harvests year after year. In 1960 he got 27 centners per hectare on an area of 520 hectares, and 31 centners per hectare on an area of 708 hectares in 1961. The collective farm devotes considerable attention to corn. Its corn yield per hectare on an area of 900 hectares was 60 centners. Peas constitute 21 per cent and corn 30 per cent of the grain acreage, which adds up to more than half of the total grain acreage.

Thanks to this the average grain yield at the kolkhoz was 38 centners per hectare.

All in all, Vinnitsa Region produced 20.7 centners of peas per hectare on a total area of 180,000 hectares this year, and the Cherkassy Region 21.5 centners of peas per hectare on an area of 89,000 hectares.

Good pea harvests are not confined to the Ukraine alone. The Petrovsky State Farm, of Lipetsk Region, headed by Comrade Volovchenko, a delegate to the Twenty-Second Party Congress, produced 36 centners of peas per hectare on an area of 110 hectares. Depending on the sowing method and the seeding rate, the yield amounted to:

wide-row with 45-cm inter-row spacing and 110 kilograms of seed per hectare; 22 centners per hectare;

ordinary row with 15-cm inter-row spacing and 270 kilograms of seed per hectare; 33 centners per hectare

narrow-row with 7.5-cm inter-row spacing and 270 kilograms of seed per hectare; 42.2 centners per hectare

This merits close attention. Before the war, the deceased Academician P. I. Lisisyn told me that the Shatilov Station, where he worked, used the narrow-row method of sowing, and obtained the highest yields. What we need is to give the foremost methods a thorough test and to appraise them on their merits, in order to fling the doors open for their wide use.

There are many collective and state farms in the central regions of the Russian Federation, in Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, regions of Siberia and Kazakhstan, that obtain big harvests of peas on large areas.

We will probably not have the necessary amount of bean seeds for the next year or two, while we have more peas. Fodder beans could be replaced by peas, which are also a highly valuable grain crop.

Extensive cultivation of leguminous crops holds new big possibilities for agriculture. Leguminous crops effect three tasks simultaneously:

first, they yield good harvests and are an important source of greater grain production, both for food and the needs of animal husbandry. They have a comparatively brief period of vegetation and resist the spring frosts, an extremely valuable property for Siberia and Kazakhstan.

The early ripening of leguminous crops takes the strain off the harvesting; the fields can be cleared more quickly and prepared for the next crop.

Peas may be sown early. This is very important for the southern Ukraine, the Volga area and some other regions exposed to hot winds. Peas will ripen earlier there and thus escape the hot winds. Early sowing and their short vegetation period make peas a good first crop for the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories, and for the Kabardino-Balkarian, North-Ossetia and Chechen-Ingush republics in growing two crops a year.

It may be recalled that corn is sown at a soil temperature of 10-12 degrees. Peas may be sown much earlier—approximately two or three weeks earlier. They have a vegetation period of 70 to 80 days. If sown late in March or early April, they will ripen by mid-June. After the peas, which are a good predecessor, are harvested, corn may be sown on the same fields in the last ten days of June. Four months are left for the latter crop. That is ample time for grain corn to ripen. Thus, peas offer good opportunities of obtaining two harvests a year in the southern regions of the country;

secondly, leguminous crops have a large protein content and will help to radically solve the problem of supplying animal husbandry with protein feeds;

thirdly, leguminous crops raise land fertility. They are a kind of factory of nitrogen, which they extract from the atmosphere. Other farm crops do not take nitrogen from the air, and use up soil nitrogen for their growth. Let me quote a few figures supplied by specialists.

Given a yield of 20 centners per hectare, peas extract

105 kg nitrogen from the atmosphere, leaving 47 kg of nitrogen in the soil after harvesting. In the case of a 30-centner yield they extract 160 kg from the atmosphere and leave behind 70 kg of nitrogen in the soil.

Given a yield of 20 centners, fodder beans extract 142 kg of nitrogen from the atmosphere and leave 63 kg per hectare in the soil. With a 30-centner yield, they absorb 213 kg from the atmosphere and leave 95 kg of nitrogen in the soil.

In the future, approximately 30 million hectares, and perhaps more, will be sown to leguminous crops in our country. As a result, immense quantities of nitrogen, a highly valuable and, in effect, cost-free fertilizer, will accumulate in the soil. To produce this fertilizer the chemical industry would have had to build many big factories and invest hundreds of millions of rubles.

Some planning officials will probably think:

"How nice! The plants will procure their own fertilizer from the atmosphere, and we can therefore build fewer chemical plants."

No, comrades, one of today's most urgent tasks is to develop the chemical industry, raise the output of mineral fertilizers, including nitrogen fertilizers, as well as herbicides and other chemicals to control weeds and pests. It is no exaggeration to say that we must put the production of fertilizers on an equal footing with mechanization of agriculture, for both are decisive factors in promoting a greater output of agricultural produce.

The Party plans to raise the output of mineral fertilizers to 125-135 million tons against the 14 millions tons

produced last year. We must see to it that the supply of fertilizers for agriculture is raised to the utmost in the current 7-year period.

An extensive program for the production of mineral fertilizers, a steep rise in the cultivation of leguminous crops, the density of the cattle population and accumulation of organic fertilizers—all this will tend to greatly increase yields.

In each belt there are collective and state farms that have shown in each specific case what methods should be used to rapidly increase yields. I cannot name these farms for every belt, so let me cite but one example.

Many of you know the collective farm in the village of Kalinovka, in Kursk Region. The chairman of that farm, V. V. Grachov, is a delegate to the Twenty-Second Party Congress. The kolhoz has 6,000 hectares of arable soil. In 1961 it obtained the following harvest:

	<i>centners per hectare</i>
Winter wheat	32.6
Rye	24.3
Barley	21.6
Millet	20
Peas, with 320 kg of seed per hectare	28
Fodder beans, wide-row sowing	25.6
Sugar beet	350
Corn on cob, for silage	700
Clover (hay in one mowing)	39

How was it possible to obtain such yields on heavy loam soil? It was possible by virtue of the large number of cattle and, hence, of manure. Only a few years ago Kalinovka (and the collective farms that amalgamated with it) had 91 cows. Today it has 1,050. The grain harvest at the time was 8-10 centners, while today it is 25-30 centners per hectare.

Why has its cattle population grown? Because the collective farmers began cultivating corn, plowed up the fallow lands and sowed it to valuable crops. This meant more fodder, more cattle, more manure, and better crops.

There are similar farms in other parts of the country too. They have paved the way for good harvests, and it is now up to us to raise all collective and state farms to their level.

An increase in grain production will promote a rapid development of animal husbandry. Given an ample supply of grain, silage and other feeds, we can rapidly increase the cattle population and ensure the output of meat, milk and other products required to fully satisfy the needs of the people.

In working out the agricultural development plan, our Party attaches special attention to irrigation. Irrigation is an integral part of Lenin's electrification plan. Lenin regarded the building of power stations and the development of irrigation as a indivisible whole. Already in the early years of Soviet power Lenin dreamt of irrigating the fields of Transcaucasia and Central Asia, and of bringing water to the arid Volga steppes.

Now that we have a powerful industry the time has come to draw up and implement an extensive irrigation

plan in order to create a stable groundwork to guarantee agricultural production in all circumstances.

On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, the State Economic Council is drawing up a long-term plan of irrigation development. There are today nine million hectares of irrigated land in the country. The task is to raise that figure to about 28 million hectares.

It is proposed:

to develop a new large-scale cotton-growing region in the basin of the Syr-Darya River where, according to preliminary estimates, 800-850 thousand hectares of the Hungry Steppes in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and the Tajik Republic can be irrigated;

to build a hydropower station on the Nurek to irrigate up to 1,200,000 hectares of land in the Uzbek and Tajik Republics for cotton, rice and other crops;

to irrigate and develop 600 thousand hectares of land in Turkmenia by means of the Kara-Kum Canal, in order to advance cotton;

to develop new rice-growing regions in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya rivers, with irrigated land amounting to about 900 thousand hectares;

to make comprehensive use of the land and water resources of the Volga-Akhtuba flood-plain and the Volga delta in order to develop irrigated farming, production of vegetables, rice and corn, and to improve conditions for fish and waterfowl breeding;

to irrigate land in the Volga area through the use of the energy of the Lenin Hydropower Station and Twenty-Second Congress Hydropower Station on the Volga;

to use the water resources of the Don, Kuban and

other rivers in the south of the European part of the Russian Federation in order to irrigate over one million hectares of land and expand rice, grape, vegetable and industrial crop production;

to irrigate an area of 4.5 million hectares in the Crimea and other regions in the south of the Ukrainian Republic and in Moldavia by means of the water resources of the Dnieper, Bug, Dniester and Danube, in order to expand production of rice, corn, sugar beet, grapes, fruits, vegetables, and to develop animal husbandry;

to carry out major irrigation projects in Transcaucasia. Once the program of irrigation development is completed, our country will be able to produce additional millions of tons of cotton, corn, rice, and sugar beet, and more animal products.

Our Party will achieve the deliverance of man from the vagaries of the elements, and give man mastery over nature.

Comrades, when I analyzed the trends of development to be followed by our industry, I spoke of raising the productivity of labor as a paramount problem of communist construction. This applies equally to agriculture.

In the draft of its Program the Communist Party envisages a rise of not less than 150 per cent in the labor productivity of agriculture in the first ten years, and a 5- to 6-fold increase in twenty years. That is a difficult task. But the path to its solution has been paved. We now have models of labor worthy of communist society in all branches of agriculture.

Take the productivity of labor attained by the foremost

collective farmers in the principal branches of agriculture. *Grain growing.* The average outlay per centner of grain for the country's state farms is 2.1 hours at 4 rubles 10 kopeks.

The Gigant State Farm, of Rostov Region, in the meantime takes 38 minutes, or about one-third, at a cost of 1 ruble 53 kopeks to produce 1 centner of grain.

Sugar-beet production. The average outlay for the country to produce 1 centner of sugar beet at the state farms is 3.2 hours at a cost of 1 ruble 80 kopeks, while the team of V. A. Svetlichny, of Krasnodar Territory, where cultivation of sugar beet is mechanized, expends 17 minutes, or one-eleventh, at a cost of 30 kopeks, or nearly one-sixth of the average country-wide outlay, to produce a centner of sugar beet.

Cotton growing. An average of 52 hours at a cost of 25 rubles 30 kopeks is expended by the state farms of Uzbekistan to produce a centner of cotton. In the meantime, Comrade Kuchiev's comprehensively mechanized team, of the Malek State Farm, Tashkent Region, takes 10 hours at a cost of 7 rubles 30 kopeks.

Livestock products. The average yield of milk for state farms with manual labor is 30-40 tons a year per milkmaid tending 10-12 cows. Zinaida Zabolina, milkmaid at the Shuisky State Farm, of Ivanovo Region, has different results. She works at a mechanized farm equipped with herringbone-type installations. In 1960 Comrade Zabolina tended 150 cows and milked 307 tons. In 1961 she was joined by her husband, Dmitry Zabolin, who is a mechanic. The two of them tend 300 cows. They have under-

taken a yield of 650 tons of milk, and have already turned in 510 tons. They spent 4.8 man-hours per centner of milk, whereas 14 hours are expended on an average by the state farms in the country.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from these examples? Even today the foremost state and collective farms exceed the productivity of labor registered at most of the state and collective farms 5-6 and more times over. It should be noted that it did not take them decades to make this advance in labor productivity, but no more than just the last few years. It is our task to so organize production as to have the entire mass of collective and state farms attain that productivity of labor in the near future.

This is a difficult task. Its implementation will call for great efforts on the part of the Party and the people, and for a considerable material outlay by the state. But that is not all. We must stop letting things drift, for that is still holding up the development of agriculture in many respects. There is still not enough active intervention and competent influence on agricultural production on the part of some Party organizations. The past is still felt in this respect, when the manpower engaged in agriculture fell short of the needs of production and we had to get along with the manpower actually available at the collective farms.

The situation is different now. Agriculture is becoming more and more mechanized, and the demands imposed on it are rising. The old approach and the outmoded notions about agriculture have got to go. The main thing

is to ensure the maximum output with the minimum outlay of labor.

It is one of the most important tasks, therefore, to work for the further mechanization and electrification of agriculture in every sector and for a better utilization of machinery. And that depends, almost entirely, on the experience and organizing ability of our personnel, on the people into whose care the machinery has been entrusted. Labor productivity on collective and state farms must not be raised by over-exerting muscular power, but by supplying agriculture with more of the latest machines.

All collective and state farms should, in the shortest possible time, be supplied with sets of machines in line with the advanced technology of agricultural production. Special emphasis should be laid on developing machines for more progressive methods of grain harvesting, fully mechanizing the cultivation of corn, cotton, flax, sugar beet and potatoes, and for the mechanization of jobs in animal husbandry.

We must introduce more efficient machines, especially tractors, combines and transport facilities. We can, and must, for example, organize production of new powerful high-speed 200-220 h.p. tractors with proper implements for the country's steppe lands. A decision on this question has already been adopted by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. Such tractors will be 3 to 4 times more productive than the DT-54 tractors now in use, and will yield tremendous economic advantages. Let us cite the estimates submitted by specialists concerning the advantages of powerful tractors in plowing 1 million hectares of arable land:

	DT-54	200-220 hp
Average daily performance	7.6 hectares	21.2 hectares
No. of tractors for autumn plowing (20 days, 2 shifts daily)	6,600	2,400
No. of tractor operators	13,200	4,800

This estimate is for 1 million hectares. But there are about 80 million hectares of plowland in the country where we could use powerful tractors. The economic advantages of such tractors would therefore rise many times over.

We should take serious measures to develop further the production of tractors and farm machinery. The tractor works and other industries producing agricultural machines should be expanded and equipped with up-to-date plant. The designing offices should be staffed with experienced personnel able to cope successfully with the problems of developing new technology.

Comrades, the draft Party Program regards the development of the productive forces in the countryside and the formation of communist social relations as being indivisibly connected. This is only natural, because communist social relations evolve in the process of labor, in the process of developing production, in the country-wide struggle for communist construction.

What will be typical of our countryside in its advance towards communism? In technical equipment and organization of production socialist agriculture will approach the level of industry. This means that there will be far-reaching qualitative changes in the nature of labor. In

step with the rising cultural and technical level of collective farmers and state-farm workers and the equipment of all branches of agriculture with modern machinery, farm labor will develop into a variety of industrial labor. In communist construction in the countryside, we must draw on the wealth of experience accumulated by our country in developing socialist agriculture. What does this experience show? Two types of socialist enterprises have emerged in Soviet agriculture—the state farms and the collective farms.

The state farms were founded on Lenin's initiative as state-operated socialist agricultural enterprises. Their purpose was to show the advantages of large-scale socialist farming over small-scale individual peasant farming, to serve as models for the peasants around them.

Our Party has successfully accomplished Lenin's plan of state-farm development. The state farms have grown into a big force. They have grown into highly productive enterprises widely employing modern machinery and the latest achievements of science. They have attained a higher productivity of labor, and are consequently producing cheaper agricultural products. In 1960 labor outlays per centner of grain (excluding corn) amounted to 2.1 hours at state farms and to 7.2 hours at collective farms. The respective outlays per centner of milk were 14.2 and 20.8 hours. The state farms expended 66 man-hours and the collective farms 118 man-hours per centner of grain in the weight of cattle, and 57 man-hours and 133 man-hours respectively per centner of gain in the weight of pigs.

As already noted in the Central Committee Report,

the role of state farms in the output of agricultural products has increased very greatly in the last few years. The advantages of state farms came to the fore with new force in the virgin-land project, and in solving the problem of supplying big cities and industrial centers with milk, potatoes and vegetables.

It stands to reason that not all state farms are today models of good agricultural organization. Much work has still to be done for every state farm to use the reserves and possibilities of large-scale mechanized farming better and more fully.

The other form of large-scale socialist agriculture are the kolkhozes. They are a form worked out by Lenin to effect the transition of millions of small-scale individual peasant farms to socialism. The kolkhozes have been a school of communism for the Soviet peasantry. They did much to overcome the centuries-old private-owner habits and habituate the peasants to collective labor and to large-scale collective farming. The collective farms have gone a long way in their development. The present-day collective farms are a far cry from the original agricultural artels with their primitive equipment and low level of labor organization, and the prevalence of the principle of distribution according to the number of mouths. The collective farm of today is a large-scale mechanized farm. As a result of the measures taken by the Party the collective farms have advanced greatly in the last few years. Their collective assets have expanded, their output of agricultural produce has grown, and the living standard of collective farmers has risen.

Some comrades ask what trend—the collective-farm or

state-farm trend—agriculture will follow in its further development and improvement of the two forms of socialist production. One socialist form of farming should not be counterposed to the other. The collective, as well as the state farms, are large-scale socialist enterprises allowing for an effective use of the achievements of technology and science, and a rapid expansion of social production. Given equal material resources, good organization of production and competent management, both forms can produce good results.

If the productivity of labor in many collective farms is at present lower, and costs of production higher than at state farms, this is not due to the kolkhoz form having, as it were, exhausted itself and ceased to correspond to the development of the present productive forces. The reason for it lies elsewhere—above all in the organization of production, in the management, and in the existing technical level.

Wherever experienced personnel, good organizers and specialists are available, wherever the proper accent is laid on mechanizing production and the principle of material incentives is properly applied, the state farms and the collective farms flourish alike. It is important to stress in this connection that the objective conditions for a rapid advancement of the kolkhoz economy are available literally everywhere.

The main thing is to help the collective farms to improve their organization of production, to make the most of modern machinery and scientific progress, and thereby to attain a higher productivity of labor. It is important to reinforce the weaker collective farms with competent

personnel—collective-farm chairmen, team leaders and farm specialists. The task is to bring all collective farms up to the level of the foremost state farms.

The state shows enormous concern for strengthening and developing the collective farms. In turn, each collective farm should make it a sacred duty to fulfill the state plans strictly, to expand its production and other collective assets, and to ensure that collective farmers' incomes rise in step with the rising productivity of their labor.

The role of the state farms, those foremost socialist agricultural enterprises, in the further development of agriculture and in creating abundant agricultural produce, will continue to mount. We must turn the state farms into first-class factories of grain, cotton, meat, milk, wool, vegetables, fruits and tea. It is also important that the state farms become models not only of a better organization of production, but also of living conditions, culture and communist education.

As production on the collective and state farms develops and social relations there advance, agriculture will ascend to a higher level that will make it possible to go over to communist forms of production and distribution. The principle of material incentives will play an important part in attaining this goal. We must continue to combine moral and material stimuli, to encourage those who produce more products for society, and to promote good discipline and communist consciousness by becoming the best models of labor.

Comrades, our Party has drafted a grand plan of agricultural development. All of us remember the difficult circumstances in which we built up socialist agriculture.

Taking guidance from Lenin's behests, the Communist Party skillfully surmounted the difficulties and led the peasantry along the socialist path. Now we have emerged on the highroad of communist construction. Wonderful prospects have opened before us. This does not mean, of course, that our advance will be all plain sailing, effortless and easy.

In our effort to build up an ample supply of agricultural produce we will have to mount quite a few steep slopes, and cope with many complicated problems. Enriched by its great historic experience, the Party will lead the peasantry boldly and confidently to communism.

III. IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING AND ACHIEVEMENT OF THE HIGHEST LIVING STANDARD

Comrades, the C.P.S.U. is advancing a great task—to achieve in the coming 20 years a living standard higher than that of any capitalist country and to create the necessary conditions for achieving an abundance of material and cultural values.

By the end of the first ten years all sections of Soviet people will enjoy plenty and will be well provided for. Communism will thereby demonstrate its decisive advantages over capitalism in a matter which directly concerns everybody without exception. *For the first time in history insufficiency will be fully and finally eliminated.* This will be an imposing achievement of the new society. No capitalist country can set itself this task.

There are two basic conditions that will enable the Soviet people to attain the highest living standard. Firstly, a growth of labor productivity, of all social production and of the national income that exceeds the possibilities of capitalism. Secondly, application of the growing productive forces and social wealth in the interests of the entire people. The Communist Program of abundance, therefore, rests upon a solid foundation, whereas the numerous bourgeois publicity projects for "public welfare" are no more than new attempts to deceive the masses.

The Party considers that while continuing to develop heavy industry and other branches of the national economy, we can and must, in the immediate future, achieve accelerated rates of growth in the standard of living. The real income per head of the population will double in the next ten years, and increase more than 250 per cent in 20 years. The rise in the real incomes of the population will derive from the growth of the *national income* of the U.S.S.R. By 1980 the latter will amount to 720-750 billion rubles, i.e., to approximately five times that of 1960. What are the basic trends to be followed in the improvement of the people's living standards?

Within the next few years *all sections of the population will get good, high-quality food*. The following rise is envisaged in food consumption per head of the population in the next 10 years: meat and meat products—2.5 fold, milk and milk products—2-fold, butter—1.5-fold, vegetable oil—2-fold, eggs—2.2-fold, fish and fish products—1.5-fold, sugar—1.5-fold, vegetables and melons—2.3-fold and fruits and berries—nearly 5-fold, while bread and potato consumption is to drop somewhat. This means

that the share of the most valuable and high-grade food products in the diet will rise. Public catering will be developed to the utmost. In the next 10 years it will expand more than 3-fold, and approximately 13-fold in 20 years. It will gradually take precedence over home cooking. Prices at catering establishments will be consistently reduced.

In the coming 10 years *all Soviet people will be able to obtain consumer goods in sufficiency, and in the following 10 years the consumer demand will be met in full*. The plan envisages that in 20 years consumption per head of the population will increase approximately 3.5-fold for clothing and footwear, and 5.5-fold for domestic and other consumer goods. The output of furniture is to be raised 6- to 8-fold. Up-to-date electrical domestic machines and appliances will effect the electrification of the home.

State-operated and co-operative retail trade in town and country will increase (in comparable prices) 2.5-fold in 10 years and 5-fold in 20. The popular demand for public laundries and repair shops for clothing, footwear and domestic appliances will be met. We must develop all types of public services, so that all who wish could substitute them for household chores.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state attach special importance to a final solution of the housing problem. No social system has been able to solve that problem. Today, housing construction in our country has assumed an unprecedented scale. In the last five years alone, nearly 50 million people were given new housing accommodations. *In the course of the next 10*

years we must put an end to the housing shortage. At the close of the second decade every family will have a separate comfortable apartment. This will involve an increase of the country's housing facilities by about 200 per cent in 20 years. Average annual housing construction will climb from about 135 million sq. m. in 1961-1965 to 400 million sq. m. in 1976-1980, surely a truly colossal program!

While preserving the big cities as industrial and cultural centers and, concurrently, checking their excessive growth, we should develop and build well-appointed small and medium towns. Our communities should conform increasingly to the conception of "green towns" or "garden towns." They will combine all the best features of a modern city—comfortable dwellings, thoroughfares, communal and public services, children's cultural and sports institutions—with all the best features of a rural community—abundant greenery, ponds, and healthful air.

The draft Program envisages further *reductions of the working day*, which will make possible a rapid improvement of the people's cultural and technical level, and adequate leisure. We have already effected a reduction to a 7-hour and, in a number of branches, to a 6-hour working day. Within the first 10 years a 6-hour working day, or a 35-hour working week, will be established for the bulk of the working people, and still shorter working time (30 hours a week) for the rest. *The country of communist construction will have the world's shortest working day.* Rising labor productivity will enable us to effect further reductions of working hours.

At the same time, the length of paid vacations will be

increased for industrial and office workers to three weeks, and subsequently to a month. Gradually, the system of paid vacations will also be extended to collective farmers.

Comrades, we shall proceed from the socialist principle of distribution according to labor to communist distribution according to need. Apart from an abundance of material and cultural values, this will involve a no less important premise—the evolution of labor into a prime necessity of life for one and all. Until this premise is attained, attempts to "introduce" communist distribution irrespective of a citizen's labor contribution would be outright levelling and would disrupt production. The Party is resolutely opposed to any such "line."

The Party considers that in the coming 20 years wages will remain the chief source of satisfaction of material and cultural requirements. The principle of payment according to labor is a powerful stimulus for greater production. It stimulates the growth of the working people's cultural and technical level and contributes thereby to a gradual elimination of the essential distinctions between physical and mental labor. It is an important source of growth of the real incomes of the population and, as social wealth increases, makes it possible gradually to reduce the disparity between the higher and lower wage brackets. While developing and strengthening moral labor incentives in every way, we must apply the principle of distribution according to labor fully and consistently as an important lever in the building of communist society.

A task of historic significance will be fulfilled in the U.S.S.R. within the next 10 years: *the bracket of low-paid industrial and office workers will disappear.* The proc-

ess of reducing wage differentials has nothing whatsoever in common with wage-leveling, because it is indivisibly connected with the replacement of unskilled labor. The wages of skilled workers must keep pace with the rising productivity of labor. At collective farms, where labor productivity will rise more rapidly, the average incomes in the coming 20 years will climb at a faster rate than those of industrial workers. Wage increases are envisaged for such sections of the Soviet intelligentsia as engineers, technicians, agronomists, medical personnel, teachers and cultural workers.

Yet another avenue of raising the living standard—*extension of the public consumption funds*—will also assume increasing importance. Distribution among members of society through these funds proceeds regardless of the quantity and quality of their labor, that is, free of charge. It is envisaged in the draft Program that these funds will rise more rapidly than wages, inasmuch as they lead directly to communist distribution. An increase is planned of the annual public consumption funds by over 900 per cent, from 24,500 million rubles in 1960 to 255,265 thousand million rubles in 1980. At the close of the twenty years they will comprise about half of the total income of the population.

It is important that the growth of public funds be properly combined with the principles of material incentives and distribution according to labor. The draft Program sets out the following main trends in the development of public consumption funds for the coming 20 years: gradual transition to maintenance at public expense of children and all the incapacitated, free education and

medical treatment of the population, rent-free housing, and free communal and transport facilities. Maintenance at public expense of children and the incapacitated is a lofty and humane undertaking consistent with the high ideals of the new system. And we are proud, comrades, that we shall soon be equal to it.

The time is not distant when we shall be able to provide free hot meals at all schools and supply school children with free textbooks and school uniforms. This is to be followed by the abolition of maintenance fees at nurseries and kindergartens, and at day-care schools. At present the bulk of children's maintenance expenses is paid by the working people, whereas at the close of the coming 20 years about 75 to 80 per cent of the cost of maintaining and educating children will come from public funds. State allocations for the maintenance of children and adolescents will increase more than 10-fold in 1961-1980.

The fact that society is increasingly undertaking the maintenance and education of children, as well as the maintenance of public services, has immense social impact, since it will serve to eliminate the remnants of women's inequality in daily life. These measures also tend to do away with the inequality that falls to the lot of large families.

Full maintenance, at public expense, of all persons unfit for labor will be provided at the same time. The pensions will gradually rise. The network of boarding-houses for old people and invalids will be extended to a point where it will meet the demand. In the second decade we shall be able gradually to adopt a single system of pensions for all the incapacitated.

All these measures will create conditions for a further improvement of the health of Soviet people and a rise in life expectancy. An extension of the network of public health institutions will play a big part in this. The urban and rural population's requirements of all forms of qualified medical services will be met in full. Special emphasis will be laid on developing preventive medicine. It is planned to increase considerably the number of hospitals, sanatoria, holiday homes and boarding-houses. In addition to free medical treatment, instituted in our country a long time ago, there will be free accommodation of patients at sanatoria and free dispensation of medicines.

Rent-free modern housing and free basic communal services for every family will be a wonderful achievement of communist construction. In the second decade we shall also launch another major social development—free public catering (meals) at enterprises and offices, and for collective farmers at work.

The Soviet people already enjoy such social advantages as are out of the reach of the working people in the capitalist countries. They know nothing of exploitation, unemployment, crises, or racial, wage and other discrimination. They are confident of the future.

However, at present the Soviet Union is still behind the United States in average per-capita consumption and the general level of real incomes per head of the population. Two things should be borne in mind in this respect: the level at which we began, and the price that, unlike the United States, we have had to pay for the war. In 1980 the real per-capita incomes in our country will

exceed the present incomes of the working people in the U.S.A. by about 75 per cent.

But we should also bear in mind that hidden behind the average per-capita figures in the case of the United States are millions of fully and partially unemployed, semi-skilled and unskilled workers getting low wages, living in slums and lacking the bare necessities. In our country every family will be comfortably provided for, and will ultimately enjoy material and cultural advantages in plenty.

The draft Program points out that the projected plans of improving the living standards can be fulfilled successfully in conditions of peace. Moreover, easing of international tension and an attendant reduction of military expenditures would enable us to raise the people's standard of living still higher. Our struggle for peace is an integral part of the struggle for communism, for the advancement of the Soviet land and the improvement of the people's well-being.

Comrades, the imposing program for improving the living standards of the Soviet people is imbued with immense social content. It reveals in a striking way the noble features of our people's system and evokes admiration in broad sections of people the world over. Western bourgeois propaganda admits that the targets set in the draft Program are feasible, and considers this the "main challenge" to the Western Powers.

Well, we think it is high-minded to issue a challenge for the creation of better living conditions for the people. Why shouldn't the capitalists, who have amassed vast

capital by plundering the peoples, accept a challenge like that? Why shouldn't they convert the industries working for war to civilian production, and raise workers' wages?

We think the working people in the capitalist countries would also welcome abolition of house rents, which in some countries consume nearly one-third of their earnings. Wouldn't the American people welcome free medical services, on which they spent nearly \$20,000 million in 1960 alone?

It would be vain, however, to expect the capitalists to do it without a stubborn struggle by the working class.

But, as we know, capitalism's motto is to suck man dry. And when a person is no longer fit for work capitalist society abandons him to his lot: if you have no money, starve; if you have no home, sleep under the bridge. That is what the "free world" is like, that is what bourgeois "freedom" is like. Socialism has put an end to these man-hating canons. The motto of communism is, "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man." And under communism, which is being built by the people and for the people's happiness, the word *Man* will sound prouder than it has ever sounded before!

IV. PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT MUST MEET THE DEMANDS OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, for successful implementation of the formidable tasks set in the draft Program we must see to it that

Planning and management live up to the demands of full-scale communist construction. This is predicated, first, on the tremendously growing scale of production and building, and by the development and extension of economic interrelationships, secondly, by rapid scientific and technical progress; thirdly, the immense social, cultural and technical advances in the sphere of labor; and, fourthly, by the extension of the democratic foundations of economic management and the mounting activity of the masses.

Communist construction calls for proper and effective use of all productive resources and rational economy of labor. Lenin's wise words, "Socialism means accounting," are acquiring a still greater impact in the period of communist construction.

Here is what the figures tell us. Within the term of the general perspective, the savings derived from reductions in the cost of industrial production alone are to yield 1,400-1,500 thousand million rubles, or nearly three-quarters of the aggregate capital investment in the national economy. At present each per cent of whatever is saved in production and building becomes a tremendous source of additional production rises and improvements in the living standards. Yet even what would seem an insignificant slip in planning or an incidental misuse of funds entails a loss of many millions.

Two trillion rubles of capital investments in 20 years is six times as much as the sum invested in all the years of Soviet power. Dealing on so big a scale we cannot make literally a single step without heeding the popular rule: "Measure thy cloth thrice and cut but once."

In so doing, we cannot proceed without the most precise of calculations of *what, how and where* to build to the greatest advantage at the least cost. The slightest slow-up in the commissioning of so great a number of new projects would reduce enormous sums into dead stock. On the other hand, what considerable resources would be released if the schedule were reduced, and how many more dwellings, children's institutions, schools, hospitals and holiday homes could be built on these resources in excess of the plan!

Life itself calls for scientific grounding and economic foresight of a new, far higher order in the fields of planning and management. The drafting of plans and endorsement of economic measures should be preceded by a thorough-going scientific analysis of the problems of economic and technical development. Economic and technical researches should further the proper solution of economic problems. It is a matter of working out the most advantageous proportions in the national economy, of making the most effective use of natural resources, production capacities and new machinery, of effecting the best distribution of the national income and capital investments, of finding additional avenues for the acceleration of rates of economic development, etc.

What are the demands exacted of planning in our time? It is essential, firstly, that we should have progressive planning standards for the use of all types of instruments of labor, raw and other materials, for technological methods and building schedules for various works; it should be law for every manager to introduce those standards and to abide by them strictly. Secondly, every plan should be

accurately balanced with respect to its various elements and provided with the necessary reserves.

Economic organization and planning should lay a still stronger accent on modern technology, to give it what we call "the right of way." After all, the material and technical basis of communism is already being laid in technical projects, in plants that are being commissioned today which will also be operating in 15 or 20 years.

It is up to the designers to reflect the latest scientific and technical discoveries and improvements in their new projects to the fullest extent and in good time. It is essential to make more effective, from above, the system of introducing new technology on a centralized basis, and to promote a country-wide mass movement for technical progress, from below.

Enterprises which have done well in assimilating new technologies and new types of products should be encouraged materially and morally, and be afforded precedence over those that are conservative and cling to the old. We should achieve well-adjusted co-operation throughout the country, coordinated in time, among specialized enterprises manufacturing various elements of every type of new machinery.

Establishment of close and business-like collaboration among scientists, designers, technologists and workers at all stages from designing, surveying, and the manufacture of experimental samples to mass production, acquires special importance. Finally, it is essential that a technical project should be considered and approved only after its economic efficiency has been thoroughly justified.

It may be said without fear of exaggeration that the

success of our entire movement towards communism and the rise of the Soviet people's standard of living depends to a very great extent on how much we can accelerate construction, reduce its cost, improve its quality, use the capital investments and production assets effectively and wisely, and get the maximum of output per unit of production capacity at the minimum expenditure.

It is essential for this purpose that we reorganize planning and accounting, state and public controls, socialist emulation, and all the methods of evaluating and encouraging the work of every employee, team, factory-shop, enterprise and economic administrative council, in order to obtain the greatest productive effect of each machine tool, machine and equipment unit, in order that capital investments are returned as quickly as possible. We must uproot the erroneous practice of scattering and "spreading out" resources among a multitude of projects, of which I have already spoken in the Central Committee Report.

It would do no harm if we were also to learn from the foremost capitalist models how to speed up construction, initiate and run new enterprises. In his day, Lenin said that we should learn how to trade. Much water has run under the bridge since then. We have accumulated tremendous experience in building and management, and possess an incomparable advantage over capitalism.

But even now we should not scorn useful foreign experience, and should critically adopt all technically and organizationally valuable points available in the West, including the field of speeding the turnover of funds and getting greater returns from capital investments.

In the course of communist construction *continuous improvement of the quality of output* is a prime economic and political task. The slogan, "Soviet means the best," advanced in the pre-Congress period, should be a guiding principle for every enterprise.

The draft Program is imbued with the idea that highly productive and scientifically organized labor equipped with the finest machinery is the cornerstone of communism. For this reason, a *rational use of manpower* is the most important aspect of planning and management.

The new technologies will release millions of people, including those employed in ancillary and auxiliary jobs. Many people will be released in agriculture. The managerial, administrative and office apparatus will shrink considerably. Millions of women will be relieved of household work. They will reinforce the ranks of the working people employed in the national economy. In view of the most extensive development of public health, education and culture, the number of people engaged in these and other non-productive spheres will grow to the greatest extent—nearly 3-fold in 20 years.

In terms of the country as a whole this will require a well-organized system of mass training and extension courses, and planned re-distribution of manpower on the basis of free choice and the principle of material incentive. Suitable living and cultural conditions should be created to stimulate movement to jobs in new regions.

The growing scale of construction and the mounting rates of technical progress call for continuity in planning. It is now absolutely impossible to draw up one-year plans

for production, machinery, capital investments or labor, without thorough consideration of all the aspects of long-term development.

Each annual plan should be an organic part of the long-term plan for a number of subsequent years. At the same time, it is necessary in the case of long-term plans to, so to speak, "keep them down-to-earth" and revise them by means of annual check-up, with due account of their actual fulfillment.

In the period of communist construction the role and importance of centralized planning, of co-ordinating all spheres and branches of our economy, is enhanced. The priority of the interests of the state, effective control over the maintenance of state discipline in economic activities everywhere and by all without exception, and resolute elimination of all manifestations of parochialism and a narrow departmental approach, are essential premises for the advance towards communism.

The Leninist line—to develop in every way the *demonstrative foundation of economic management in combination with centralized administration by the state*—is clearly expressed in the draft Program. Centralized administration by the State must draw upon the creative initiative of the masses and give it ever greater scope. This calls for a further gradual extension of managerial powers and of the responsibility of local bodies and enterprises.

The role and the rights of trade-unions and other social organizations, particularly the primary ones, should be extended to the utmost; the personnel should participate more broadly and actively in the management of enterprises.

Our policy, our line for the entire period of communist construction, is to effect a proper combination of material and moral stimuli. So long as our society is in the socialist stage, we cannot dispense with distribution according to labor, with commodity-money relations and with such categories as prices, profit, finance and credit. In our country these economic-tools have a socialist content and serve the building of communism. When communism will have been built, they will be outdated and replaced by the superior economic categories of direct assessment and distribution of social labor.

In the course of communist construction it is our task to make still greater use of, and to improve, the financial and credit levers, financial control, prices, and profits. We must elevate the importance of profit and profitability. In order that enterprises fulfill their plans better, they should be given more opportunities to handle their profits and use them more extensively to encourage the good work of their personnel and to extend production.

It is highly important to work out and introduce forms of collective incentives, in order to make each working man materially interested not only in the results of his own labor, but in those of all collective labor.

Comrades, the plan for the development of the productive forces of our country for the coming 20 years is truly imposing. It does not merely represent breathing figures showing the increase in the output of coal, steel, oil, grain, meat and milk. It is a magnificent plan for the creation of a society where man will be a genuine master of nature and of social relations, and where a high living standard will be attained for the whole people.

It is worth living, working and fighting for such grand goals. There is no loftier task, no task more purposeful and interesting for our Party, trade-union and Komsomol organization than that of organizing the struggle for the realization of the general perspective, for the building of communism.

Part Four

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST SOCIAL RELATIONS AND THE MOULDING OF THE NEW MAN

Comrades, in the transition to communism the mighty growth of the productive forces is accompanied by the gradual development of socialist social relations into communist relations. The establishment of a communist economy, the advancement of social relations, and the moulding of the new man are interlinked processes. The economy is the basis for change in social relations and man's consciousness, while the advancement of social relations, the growth of the communist convictions, culture and activity of the people are necessary conditions of economic progress.

I. BUILDING A CLASSLESS SOCIETY IN THE SOVIET UNION

The development of the Soviet Union has reached the historical period when the task of building a classless com-

munist society of free and politically conscious working people is daily being solved.

The wealth of experience accumulated by Soviet society confirms the Marxist-Leninist conclusions that the abolition of classes and class distinctions necessitates:

First, *overthrowing the rule of the exploiting classes, the landlords and capitalists, and abolishing their private ownership of means of production, which constitutes the economic basis of exploitation of man by man.* In our country this task was carried through as a result of the October Revolution, the nationalization of land and capitalist property, and the restriction and ousting of the capitalist elements.

Second, *converting individual small-scale commodity production into a large-scale collective economy, completing the construction of a single socialist economic system, and abolishing the last of the exploiting classes, the class of kulaks.* This task was accomplished by collectivizing the countryside, concentrating the handicrafts in co-operatives, and eliminating the kulaks as a class.

Third, *removing the class distinctions between town and country, and creating conditions for an organic fusion of physical and mental labor.* How is this third task being accomplished? It stands to reason that our further advance to a classless society is bound up, above all, with a rapid growth of the productive forces. It is precisely a high level of the productive forces and socialist relations of production that actuates the gradual process of effacement of the distinctions between the classes of working people.

And that, comrades, is something we know not only from theory. We see it in practice. Under the effect of the wide use of machinery and electric power the character of the peasant's labor, and his general make-up, are changing. He is steadily approaching the industrial worker in technical knowledge.

National property, the property of the whole people, is the basis for the life of the entire population, the kolkhoz peasantry included. At the same time, features characteristic of national property arise and take root in cooperative-kolkhoz property. Life itself is steadily bringing the national and co-operative forms of property closer together, and will ultimately lead to the emergence of single, communist property and a single, communist principle of distribution.

In the process of communist construction and as a result of major changes in production techniques and the nature of labor, a solution will arise to yet another very important social problem—removal of the essential distinctions between physical and mental labor. We already see these processes in our daily life. Millions of people with a secondary education have come to work at industrial enterprises and the collective and state farms. Tens of thousands of workers and collective farmers are getting a higher education in their free time.

The worker's labor is gradually approaching that of the engineer. Take the foreman, for example. He unquestionably belongs to the bracket of engineers and technicians, to the intelligentsia. Yet he is also a worker. Or take the army of innovators, of worker-rationalizers. The creative contribution they make to technical progress

is often of a kind that only a major specialist would be equal to. The same may well be said of the leading farm workers, who are veritable professors in their field.

The elimination of distinctions between classes, now under way, makes for ever greater homogeneity of society. It stands to reason that this is a gradual and long process. The class distinctions will not be removed to the last, until full communist society is built.

Hand in hand with this process, and indivisibly linked with it, there will emerge *communist equality*, a complete social equality of people implying an identity of relations to means of production, complete equality in distribution, and harmony of individual and society on the basis of an organic blending of personal and social interests. Classless communist society will thus constitute the highest form of organization of the human community.

II. FROM THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT TO A STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

The draft Program of the Party raises, and resolves, a new important question of communist theory and practice—the development of the dictatorship of the working class into a state of the whole people, the character and purpose of this state, and its future under communism. *The state of the whole people is a new stage in the development of the socialist state, an all-important phase on the road from socialist statehood to communist public self-government.*

Half a century ago our Party was the only party to put the Marxist-Leninist idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat into its program. If we managed to survive in the bitter struggle against domestic and world reactionaries, if we managed to translate into reality mankind's age-old dream of socialism, we owe this, to a tremendous degree, to the fact that we possessed a powerful instrument for the transformation of society—a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The experience of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist theory that the victory of socialism is feasible only if the dictatorship of the proletariat is established.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is born of the conditions created by the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the process of its establishment, socialism has to overcome the resistance, often of a most bitter kind, of the reactionary forces of the old world. Comrades, remember the fierce resistance put up against us by the landlords and capitalists with most active support from the forces of world reaction. One could also refer to an event of the relatively recent past—the counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary in 1956. It furnished added proof that in its transition to socialism the working class must have an authority capable of crushing the resistance of the exploiters, consolidating the victory of the revolution, preventing in time all attempts to restore the rule of the bourgeoisie, and ensuring defense against aggressive acts by international reactionaries.

It should be stressed that the proletariat resorts to coercion solely against the capitalists and landlords, and their

abettors, and not against the laboring classes. It is this that determines the profoundly democratic nature of proletarian power. The bourgeois state is a dictatorship of the exploiting minority over the overwhelming majority of society, whereas the proletarian state expresses the interests of the vast majority of society. The working class leads the peasantry and the other laboring sections of society, its allies and brothers-in-arms, and helps them to take the socialist path of their own free will. This leadership, being a characteristic feature of proletarian power, sets it far apart from the bourgeois state, which knows no other relations but those of domination and subjection.

Lenin taught us that the working class needs dictatorship to build up a socialist society, to wipe out all exploitation of man by man. "This goal," Lenin explained, "cannot be effected overnight. It involves a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism, because reorganization of production is a difficult thing, because it takes time to effect radical changes in all spheres of life, and because the tremendous force of habit for the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois way of economy can only be broken in protracted and dogged struggle. This is why Marx speaks of an entire period of proletarian dictatorship as of a period of transition from capitalism to socialism." *

It follows, according to Marx and Lenin, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a state of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

It stands to reason that when socialism had triumphed

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 358.

completely and finally in our country and we entered upon the *period of full-scale communist construction*, the conditions which necessitated the dictatorship of the proletariat disappeared, its domestic purposes were fulfilled.

The working class is the only class in history which does not entertain the purpose of perpetuating its domination. When the conditions which gave rise to its dictatorship disappear, when the tasks which society could accomplish solely with its help are consummated, the state gradually develops, under the leadership of the working class, into a nation-wide organization of all the working people of socialist society.

With the victory of socialism and the country's entry into the period of full-scale communist construction, the working class of the Soviet Union has on its own initiative, consistent with the tasks of communist construction, transformed the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people. That, comrades, is a fact unparalleled in history! Until now the state has always been an instrument of dictatorship by this or that class. In our country, for the first time in history, a state has taken shape which is not a dictatorship of any one class, but an instrument of society as a whole, of the entire people.

Communist construction no longer requires the dictatorship of the proletariat. All working people in our society have equal rights. To be sure, the working class continues to play the leading role in society also during the transition to communism. It retains this role, because it is the most advanced class, the most organized, a class associated with machine industry, one that is the most consistent bearer of communist ideals.

It would be wrong to think there is some sort of wall between the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of the overwhelming majority of society, and the state of the whole people. From the moment of its inception, the dictatorship of the proletariat contains features of universal socialist democracy. As socialism develops, these features become accentuated, and following its complete victory become determinant.

The state develops from an instrument of class domination into an organ expressing the will of the whole people.

The might of our society and state, far from diminishing, increases many times over in the course of its development from a dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, because new sources of strength appear alongside the old. Coupled with the continuous growth of our economic potential, the social basis of our state has gained added strength and has expanded, and society has become more united and monolithic than ever before. Therein lies the chief source of strength of the state. Every worker, every peasant, every intellectual can say: We are the state; its policy is our policy, and the task of developing and consolidating it, of defending it in all exigencies, is our common task.

But why, for all that, is the state as such being retained, though the antagonism of classes, the main thing that gave rise to it, has disappeared? It is being retained because the tasks which society can solve only with the aid of the state are not as yet consummated. These purposes and functions of the socialist state are defined conclusively in the draft of our Party Program.

The state will remain long after the victory of the first phase of communism. The process of its withering away will be a very long one; it will cover an entire historical epoch and will not end until society is completely ripe for self-government. For some time, features of state administration and public self-government will intermingle. In this process the domestic functions of the state will develop and change, and gradually lose their political character. It is only after a developed communist society is built up in the U.S.S.R., and provided socialism wins and consolidates in the international arena, that there will no longer be any need for the state, and it will wither away.

The fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary does not in any way imply any relaxation of public order and legality. The Party attaches great importance to a further reinforcement of legality and order, and to the protection of the rights of citizens. The rights, freedom, honor and dignity of the Soviet citizen will be closely protected by society and by the state. Those who expect that public order in our country will be less rigid are in for a woeful disappointment. Alongside the state organs, public organizations will play an increasing role in combating anti-social and criminal elements. The fight against misappropriators of public property, against loafers and rowdies will be waged still more effectively, since it will have become the business of all working people and their organizations.

Comrades, you know that in the last few years, especially after the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., tremendous efforts have been put into restoring Lenin's norms

of Party and state life, and into further extending Soviet democracy. We do not consider, of course, that the task of improving our political system is already completed. We must do everything to improve and develop the state of the whole people, to draw the masses more and more into administration and control of the organs of state.

To begin with, a word about *the role of the representative organs of power*. The terms of reference of the Soviets will expand. They will be, to a still greater extent, "the working corporations" that Marx and Lenin had in mind when analyzing the nature of truly popular power, performing the practical function of managing the economic and social processes. Many of the matters which are today allotted to the competence of the executive bodies of power and government will be handled directly by the Soviets and their committees.

The transition to communism calls for a continuous *improvement in the work of the state and economic apparatus, and for the development in it of democratic principles and principles of social work*. The apparatus of the Soviet, economic and other organs must be made still simpler, cheaper to run, and still more efficient, and should respond promptly and considerately to citizens' needs and enquiries. It is essential that we completely eradicate such survivals of the past as bureaucracy, indifference, formalism and red tape, and not only publicly censure, but strictly prosecute, administratively and legally, officials guilty of a bureaucratic treatment of the needs and enquiries of the working people.

The advancement of socialist democracy is bound up with *a heightening of the role of social organizations*, such

as the trade unions, the Komsomol, the co-operatives and the cultural and educational societies.

Lenin called the trade unions schools of administration, schools of management, schools of communism. This fundamental appraisal by Lenin of the role of the trade unions has special application during the transition to communism. Through the trade unions industrial, professional and office workers exert a mounting influence on economic affairs, and help improve the work of enterprises and control over production. Furthermore, the role of the trade unions increases by virtue of the rights of legislative initiative that are being given them, and of some of the functions previously performed by state bodies.

The activities of the *Komsomol*, the militant organization of Soviet youth, have an important bearing on the life of our society. The youth, comrades, are our replacements. They are the future of our country. They are an active creative force which can move mountains in the struggle for our ideals. We must show daily, truly paternal concern for the education of the Komsomols.

The administration of our state is effected *for the working people and by the working people*. We set ourselves the task of drawing all citizens without exception into the administration of the affairs of society.

How are we going to set about solving this task?

First, by steadily creating better material and cultural living conditions for every working man and woman.

Second, by continuously perfecting the forms of popular representation and the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system.

Third, by extending the practice of nation-wide dis-

cussions of major matters of communist construction and of draft laws of the Soviet state.

Fourth, by extending in every way the forms of public control over the activities of the organs of power and administration, and by making this control more effective.

Fifth, by systematically renewing the composition of the governing organs, by an increasingly consistent implementation of the elective principle with regard to leading officials of the state apparatus and of public organizations, and of their accountability to the public, and a gradual extension of this principle to all leading officials of state and public organizations, and cultural institutions.

Our ideological opponents keep vociferating that capitalism is a free world and try to discredit our socialist democracy in every way. But the truth about socialist democracy, the finest democracy on earth, cannot be concealed. After all, it is an incontestable fact that the socialist world is steadily and consistently developing and extending democracy, while the capitalist world is abridging and curtailing what stunted democracy there is in bourgeois society.

Never before has actual rule in the leading imperialist countries been concentrated in the hands of so small a handful of monopolists as today. The Americans themselves described Eisenhower's administration as a Big Business administration. Indeed, more than a score of its members were either millionaires themselves, or were in the employ of the biggest corporations. In the government of the imperialist countries individuals change, one millionaire or his protégé replacing another, but all of them

serve the interests of the monopolies. Of the 19 ministers in the British cabinet 12 are directly associated with the monopolies, and in Adenauer's government 12 of its 18 members are direct representatives of big concerns and stock companies.

Bourgeois ideologists speak of equality in capitalist society. But what is the equality they imply? Take the social structure in the capitalist countries. It constitutes a monstrous pyramid of social inequality. At its apex are a handful of industrial and financial oligarchs. Like the corrupt nobility of the decline of the Roman Empire, they wallow in luxury and oversatiation. In the meantime, the hundreds of millions of people who constitute the base of this pyramid are condemned to privation and lack of rights. In the United States a handful of moneybags, one per cent of the population, controls nearly 60 per cent, and in Britain a group constituting one per cent controls over 50 per cent, of the national wealth.

As for the electoral system in the capitalist countries, it is being continuously refashioned and adapted to ensuring to a maximum the interests of the monopolies, and distorting the true will of the electors. The present electoral system in France is a good example. At the latest elections there, the Communist Party, which polled 3,882,204 votes, won a mere ten seats in the National Assembly. In the meantime, the reactionary U.N.R., which polled 3,603,958 votes, i. e., less than the Communists, won 188 seats. If this is not outright dictatorship of monopoly capital, then what is? If this is not mockery of the will of the people, then what is? The working people com-

prise the overwhelming majority of electors. But are they represented in the parliament? Is it not a fact that there is not a single worker, not a single small farmer, in the Congress of the United States, a country with more than 50 million factory and office workers and working farmers?

The monopoly bourgeoisie makes the utmost use of the press and radio, television and all other means of indoctrination to deceive the masses, to blunt their consciousness and paralyze their will. Whose will, for example, can the press controlled by millionaire Hearst reflect? It reflects just one will—the will of the monopoly tycoons.

The bourgeoisie employs the police and army more and more frequently in its struggle against the people. Think of all the blood of the people shed in the capitalist countries in the last decade! The police club and police bullets hold an increasingly prominent place in bourgeois democracy's arsenal of "arguments."

Such is their "free world," a society with no true freedom and no democracy, a society based on social and national oppression and inequality, on the exploitation of man by man, on the flouting of human dignity and honor.

The flowering of democracy in the socialist countries, on the one hand, and on the other the increasing curtailment of the already curtailed democracy in the capitalist countries—these are the *two opposite trends in the political development of the contemporary world*. We are doing our utmost, and will continue to do our utmost, to further perfect our social system and our democracy as a model of the socialist way of life for all peoples.

III. THE GROWING CLOSENESS BETWEEN NATIONS AND CONSOLIDATION OF FRIENDSHIP AMONG THE PEOPLES

The draft Program sets a course towards a further economic and cultural advancement of the Soviet Republics, still greater and all-embracing closeness between nations in the process of full-scale communist construction.

Under socialism, two inter-linked progressive tendencies are operating in the national question. First, there is a rapid, all-round development of each nation. The rights of the Union and Autonomous republics are expanding. Second, the socialist nations are drawing closer together under the banner of proletarian internationalism, and their mutual influence and enrichment are growing.

Full-scale communist construction is a new stage in the development of national relations in the Soviet Union. Better co-operation among nations depends, above all, on correct economic policy. The draft Program envisages a comprehensive development and specialization of economy in the Union republics. The economy of each will continue to develop as an integral part of the single economy of the Soviet Union as a whole. The greater the contribution which each republic makes to the common cause of communist construction, the broader and the more comprehensive are the interrelations between the Soviet nations.

The economic development of each Soviet republic is the outcome of fraternal co-operation and mutual assist-

ance among all the Soviet peoples. Take the development of the virgin land in Kazakhstan. The Republic could never have coped with so formidable an undertaking on its own. Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and people of many other nationalities gave it a helping hand. Or take our industries and building projects. They are friendly, multi-national collectivities, where workers are esteemed not for the color of their skin or for the tongue they speak, but for their attitude towards their work, their effort in the cause of communism. The population in the various republics is becoming more and more mixed in national composition. There is a lively exchange of qualified personnel between them. All this promotes stronger international bonds between the peoples of our country.

Improvements in the forms of national state organization of the peoples of the Soviet Union are another expression of the development of the socialist nations. The Party will continue to meet all the requirements that arise in this sphere. Full use must be made of all the possibilities provided by the Soviet principles of federation and autonomy. Even today the realities prompt the need of setting up some inter-republic zonal bodies, for better co-ordination of the efforts of the various republics in implementing the plans of communist construction.

Growing closeness among the nations and nationalities of our country is also promoted by cultural development and ideological work. The exchange of spiritual values among them is on the upgrade. The cultural achievements of one nation are made available to others. This leads to a mutual cultural enrichment of the peoples of the Soviet Union, to a strengthening of their internationalist founda-

tions, to the formation of the future single universal culture of communist society.

The forms of national culture do not ossify; on the contrary, they advance. Outmoded forms inconsistent with the tasks of communist construction drop away, and new forms emerge. National flavor is quite natural in literature and art. But all too often we have encountered archaisms in this respect. In architecture, for example, obviously outmoded forms are sometimes dug up out of the dim past, though they are absolutely inconsistent with present living conditions and people's requirements. Only forms consistent with our epoch have a future before them.

The Party will continue to ensure the free development of the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union, ruling out all restrictions, privileges and coercion in the use of the various languages. Every citizen enjoys, and will enjoy, complete freedom in the choice of the language of instruction for his or her children. We impose no restrictions whatsoever on the development of national languages. But their development must not lead to any accentuation of national barriers; on the contrary, it should lead to a coming together of nations.

It is to be noted that the non-Russian peoples show a growing inclination to learn the Russian language, which has in effect become the second language of the peoples of the Soviet Union, a medium of mutual intercourse, an avenue whereby each nation and nationality achieves access to the cultural accomplishments of all the peoples of our country and to world culture. The process of the voluntary study of the Russian language is a positive factor in the development of co-operation among nations.

A rapprochement of nations is proceeding in our country, and their social homogeneity is growing. Complete unity of nations will be achieved as the full-scale building of communism proceeds. But even after communism will have been built in the main, it will be premature to proclaim a fusion of nations. Lenin, it may be recalled, pointed out that state and national distinctions will exist long after socialism triumphs in all countries.

We come across people, of course, who deplore the gradual effacement of national distinctions. We reply to them: Communists will not conserve and perpetuate national distinctions. We will support the objective process of the increasingly closer rapprochement of nations and of the increasingly closer construction of communist nationalities proceeding under the conditions of communist construction on a voluntary and democratic basis. It is essential that we stress the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. Even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising Bolshevik determination.

The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is one of our greatest gains. Let us guard it as the apple of our eye!

IV. COMMUNIST EDUCATION AND THE ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Comrades, education of people in the communist spirit is an all-important element of communist construction.

The creation of the highest productivity of labor, the development of communist social relations and the application of the rules of communist human relations are inconceivable without an advancement in the consciousness and cultural level of all members of society. The higher the consciousness of the members of society, the fuller and broader their creative activity becomes, and the better and more rapidly shall we implement the program of communist construction.

What are the tasks we have in view when we speak of the moulding of the new man? They are:

consolidation of the communist world outlook: deep faith in communist ideals, a conscious attitude toward civic duty, socialist internationalism and patriotism, loyalty to country, readiness to defend it even at the cost of one's life;

education through labor, development of the communist attitude to labor, to social production;

consolidation of the principles of the communist morality, voluntary observance of the rules of communist human relations;

cultural development, knowledge of the fundamentals of science, general and polytechnical education, aesthetic and physical education.

Communism ennobles man. *Communism is the supreme flowering of humanity and of the individual.*

While instilling new, communist traits of character in all members of our society, the Party attaches special importance to the communist education and upbringing of the youth.

The Party and the people have brought up a wonderful

generation of devoted builders of socialism and heroic defenders of our country, who have won undying glory. Today we are preparing people for life in communist society. The communist generations have to be moulded from childhood. They have to be cared for and steered from their youth. We must see to it in all earnest that there should be no moral cripples in our country, no victims of incorrect education and harmful example. Whenever young fruit-trees have been damaged to any degree, much effort has to be put into tending and rescuing them. Furthermore, these efforts are not always successful. It is the same with the people of the new generation.

The new man is moulded not only under the influence of the educational work of the Party, the Soviet state, the trade unions and the Komsomol, but also of the pattern of the life of society—the mode of production, the forms of distribution, the public services, the socio-political activities, the legal system and the court practices. We must make the most of all these economic, social, political and legal factors to develop the communist consciousness of people and to eradicate survivals of bourgeois psychology and morals.

The bourgeoisie associates the freedom of the individual with private property. But millions of people in the capitalist countries have no property, and to them bourgeois property is not an earnest of freedom, but a heavy burden. To the petty proprietor property is not a condition for the development of the individual; rather, it is a chain that keeps him fully dependent on monopoly capital.

It is only to capitalists that private property furnishes complete freedom to exploit the working people and to amass fabulous profits. The wealth of experience accumulated in our country, and that of the world socialist system as a whole, shows that it is not private, but commonly-owned property that delivers man from all types of social dependence and provides broad opportunities for the free development of the individual. Our people have become imbued with the lofty sentiments of collectivism, comradeship and loyalty to public duty.

The draft Program attaches great importance to the further moulding of the progressive scientific world outlook of Soviet people. And that is only natural. After all, man cannot successfully develop spiritually if his head is stuffed with mystical ideas, prejudices and false conceptions.

For the first time in history, the world outlook of millions of people rests on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism, which has become the ideological weapon of the people in the struggle for a better life, for the victory of communism. Marxism-Leninism has placed mankind in the correct, accurately computed historical orbit leading to the bright communist future!

We are revolutionaries and internationalists, and cannot be indifferent to the propaganda of reactionary views. We cannot look on idly while the bourgeoisie obscures and corrupts the consciousness of people, and fans chauvinism. The Party will continue to expose the imperialist ideology.

Communist consciousness is fashioned and consolidated in the active struggle for communism, in work for the

common weal. Communist ideas must blend organically with communist deeds in the behavior of every man, the work of every collective, every organization and institution.

It is creative labor that constitutes the basis of communist education, the all-round development of the individual. Labor has always been, and always will be, the source of man's existence and development. The motto, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat," exists in different forms in all languages, among all peoples.

The Communists have made it their purpose to deliver people not from labor, but from the exploitation of labor. Man's labor and his being provided with the good things of life are blended organically in the communist principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Communist education has the all-important purpose of instilling in each man the awareness that man cannot live without labor, that he cannot live unless he creates the means of life. All the good that Soviet man does is done for himself and for society as a whole. Doing one's work conscientiously, doing all things well and in time means showing concern for one's comrades, who also work for everybody, yourself included. It is in this that comradesly co-operation and mutual assistance among people of the new society are embodied.

The bourgeoisie oppress and humiliate working people. The Communists extol and glorify free labor as a source of life and of the wellbeing of all men, and as an earnest of social progress and prosperity.

The draft Program contains the *moral code of the*

builders of communism, the ethical standards of the new society, its moral tenets.

For over a hundred years bourgeois ideologists have been accusing the Communists of negating morals, of undermining the moral pillars of society. The bourgeoisie needs this falsehood to cover up its own immorality. What is the basis of the moral tenets of the exploiting classes? It is most clearly illustrated by attitudes such as these: "What will not money do?" "Cheat your fellow, lest he cheat you," "Money has no smell," and "Man is to man a wolf."

We do, indeed, negate these brutal and cynical canons. We counterpose to them the moral principles of collectivism and humanism expressed in the following magnificent words: "One for all, and all for one," and "Man is to man a friend, comrade and brother."

It is our task to make the new moral principles inherent in all Soviet people. Much still has to be done to wipe out the vestiges of the past. In public life the progressive wins in the end, but the survivors of the old retard progress. The force of good example grows, and that is the basis of our education. But, as you know, weeds grow fast if they are not controlled in good time.

It is essential that we make the general public conscious and exacting with respect to people's behavior. After all, ill deeds are committed by people who are mostly members of some collective, of an organization, of a trade union, the Komsomol, a collective farm, or of some cultural and educational society or association, and sometimes even members of our Party. We must use the moral weight and authority of public opinion more actively in

combating those who break the rules and standards of socialist human relations.

We want to make all people harmoniously developed. What other class besides the working class, and what other ruling party besides the Communist Party, have ever set themselves the task of developing the capacities and gifts of all working people?

It is in the cultural advancement of the people that the Party sees the earnest of victorious communist construction. Our country has reached the final stage of the cultural revolution whose main purpose it is to build up all the necessary ideological and cultural premises of communism. The most important task at this stage is to raise the cultural and technical level of all workers and peasants to the level of the intelligentsia, so as to eliminate, in the main, the essential distinctions between mental and physical labor.

In the coming 20 years the bulk of members of society will, through one medium or another, receive a full secondary specialized education or a higher education. That is a formidable, but quite feasible task.

General and polytechnical secondary (11-year) education for all children of school age is to be brought into effect in the course of the coming 10 years. According to the School Law the children must, after completing eight years of schooling, work at enterprises or on collective farms, and study simultaneously to obtain a full secondary education. This paves the way both for a higher education and for highly-skilled work at the factory or farm.

It is also essential that in the coming ten years the young people employed in the national economy who have no secondary education, should get an education equal to at least eight years of schooling. This is an important and urgent task. It should be borne in mind that during the war many boys and girls were unable to receive a secondary education. Due concern should be shown for these young citizens of our country.

Soviet schools play an especially important role in the all-round and harmonious development of man. In educating schoolchildren in the spirit of communism, schools must instill in them the best qualities and habits, prepare them for conscientious labor according to ability, for using sensibly the social facilities, for unfailing observance of the communist moral code and rules of human relations. A very big role in the education of the rising generation devolves on the schoolteachers, who may well be called the spiritual mentors of the youth. The role of the schoolteacher should be enhanced in every possible way, and he should be surrounded with attention and care.

The Party attaches great importance to the further development of the institutions of public education—boarding-schools, day-care schools, and pre-school institutions. Public and family education are not opposed to each other. The family's educational influence upon children should blend with their public education.

People who say that the significance of the family lessens during the transition to communism, and that it disappears entirely with time, are absolutely wrong. In

fact, the family will grow stronger under communism. Completely disencumbered of material considerations, family relations will become very pure and lasting.

While focussing its efforts on instituting universal secondary education, the Party also sets the goal of *making all forms of higher education still more accessible to everybody*. At present we have an enrollment of 2,600,000 in our higher educational establishments. By 1980 it is envisaged that enrollment at higher educational establishments will rise to eight million, i.e., more than three-fold. Special importance will be attached to expanding the network of higher evening and correspondence schools.

We have yet to eliminate the considerable lag in the cultural and technical level of the rural population behind that of the urban population, so as to remove the essential distinctions between town and country in that sphere as well. It is necessary that all organizations dealing with the matters of culture redouble their attention to raising the cultural level in the countryside.

In the next few years large-scale measures will have to be taken to develop extensively the material basis of culture—paper factories and printing plants, radio and television stations, theaters, film studios and cinemas, clubs and libraries. This will naturally involve large material outlays. But our society, which is building communism, will not grudge the means to meet the cultural requirements of Soviet people to the fullest.

In our age of rapid scientific and technical progress the development of society and of the individual is inconceivable without a planned and all-round utilization of the achievements of science. As Lenin once said: "No

dark force will withstand the alliance of science, the proletariat and technology."* These prophetic words have become living reality. We have smashed and destroyed the evil force of the exploiters. We have wiped out for good all forms of economic and spiritual oppression. And now we are concentrating more and more of our effort on eliminating man's dependence on the elements, on subjugating them to man's will. Man will thereby take the last hurdle on his road to the true realm of freedom.

Science is called upon to respond to the requirements of the present day, to serve as a militant and effective weapon in solving the pressing problems in the national economy, and in developing the productive forces of society. In the long run, science must find ways of controlling thermonuclear reactions so that the limitless sources of nuclear energy will be employed for peaceful purposes; to control the climate and the weather; to conquer diseases and increase life expectancy; to control the vital processes of organisms; to create a countless number of artificial materials with desired properties; to conquer outer space and set up reliable communication routes in the Universe. This will constitute an entire epoch in the world history of science and technology, provide man with inexhaustible resources of energy, and make him the true master of nature.

The impact of the social sciences will increase steadily in the study of mankind's historic path to communism, the investigation of the processes of capitalism's collapse, the elaboration of the scientific foundations of the planned

* V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 358.

management of social development, in economic and cultural development, in moulding the materialist world outlook in people, in the education of the man of communist society and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. The Party will see to it that all provinces of human knowledge shall flourish.

It is the honorable and patriotic duty of Soviet scientists to consolidate the already won foremost position of Soviet science in the key spheres of knowledge, and to ensure that Soviet science occupies a leading role in world science in all the basic fields.

Literature and art will play a big part in moulding the new man. By asserting communist ideas and genuine humanism, literature and art instill in Soviet man the qualities of builders of the new world, and serve the aesthetic and moral development of people. The Party calls on all men engaged in literature and art to search for new and bold forms in their treatment of contemporary subjects.

Amateur art, which is spreading widely, offers a great medium for the emergence and development of popular talents and gifts. However, this does not eliminate the need for developing the professional arts. It will be the artistic activities of professional groups and distinguished men of the arts that will, in the future as well, serve as a model for amateur art. In its turn, amateur art will serve as an inexhaustible source for the enrichment and advancement of professional literature and art.

Socialist and communist culture is the new, the highest, stage in man's cultural development. We have all the necessary conditions to scale successfully the summits of communist culture.

Part Five

COMMUNISM AND MANKIND'S PROGRESS

Comrades, fulfillment of our Party's Program will exert a most profound influence on the course of world history.

By the force of its example, communism in the making attracts to the banner of Marxism-Leninism new hundreds of millions of working people all over the world. The building of communism means, first and foremost, the rapid development of the productive forces, a steep rise in the people's cultural and living standards, and the creation of conditions for a peaceful and happy life. The entire course of social development has borne out Lenin's prediction—that it is through their economic construction that the countries of victorious socialism exert their chief influence on the development of the world revolution. Peaceful economic competition is the chief arena of the contest between the socialist and the capitalist systems.

The outcome of this competition will be determined in tremendous degree by the competition between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The Party sets the task of converting our country, within the next decade, into the world's leading industrial power, of winning preponderance over the United States,

both in the absolute volume of industrial output and in the volume of industrial output per head of population. By approximately the same time, the U.S.S.R. will exceed the present U.S. level of agricultural production per head of the population by fifty per cent, and will reach the U.S. level of national income.

But that is only the first objective. We shall not stop at that. *In the course of the second decade, by 1980, our country will leave the United States far behind in industrial and agricultural output per head of population.*

The economy of all the countries of the world socialist system, and not only that of the Soviet Union, is developing far more rapidly than the economy of capitalism. Compared with the pre-war level, the countries of the socialist community have increased gross industrial output almost seven times, while the increase for the countries of capitalism is less than two-and-a-half times. Preliminary estimates by economists show that by 1980 the socialist system will account for about two-thirds of the world's industrial output.

Some people say that figures are dull. But the figures reflecting the growth of our system are pleasant to quote and, I think, pleasant to hear. I remember that in my young days we used to sing a song, "Our steam locomotive is speeding forward, bound for communism." Today we and the entire socialist system are speeding forward not on a steam locomotive but on a powerful electric locomotive. There can be no doubt that our socialist express will overtake and leave the train of capitalism far behind. Capitalism has neither the strength nor the hauling power. The building of communism in our country is an in-

tegral part of the creation of a communist society in the entire socialist community. The successful development of the world system of socialism opens up prospects for the transition of the socialist countries to communism at more or less the same time, within one and the same historical epoch. The world system of capitalism comes under the law of uneven economic and political development, thus leading to an aggravation of contradictions and intensification of the rivalry between states. The world socialist system is developing in accordance with diametrically opposite laws. It is marked by the steady and planned growth of the economy of each country, by the more rapid development of states that were economically backward under capitalism, and by all countries attaining the same general level of development.

Countries that once lagged behind because of the specific features of their historical development have, within the framework of the world system of socialism, approached very close to the level of the advanced socialist countries in a very brief period, thanks to the all-round assistance and support of the latter. However, the degree of development of the productive forces is not yet the same in these countries. These are objective factors, which account for the circumstance that there cannot be any single definitive "hour of entry" into the higher phase of the new society for all socialist countries.

It is natural that the full-scale building of a communist society will take place in those countries as the necessary conditions for it will arise. This is in accordance with the interests of the entire socialist system, as it will accelerate the process of the common advance of the peoples towards

communism, and will create more favorable conditions for greater support and aid for the other socialist countries by those in which communism has been victorious.

To Marxist-Leninists it is indisputable that the basic interests of the socialist states call imperatively for the maximum strengthening of their community. Any course steered towards the construction of socialism in isolation, separately from the world socialist community, runs counter to the objective laws of development of a socialist society. Such a course is harmful, since it may weaken the forces of socialism in the face of the united front of imperialist reaction; it encourages nationalistic tendencies, and in the long run may lead to a loss of the socialist gains.

Whatever guise it may don, nationalism is the most dangerous political and ideological weapon employed by international reaction to undermine the unity of the socialist countries.

As the draft Program states, "The Communists consider it their prime duty to educate working people in a spirit of internationalism, socialist patriotism, and intolerance of all possible manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Nationalism is harmful to the common interests of the socialist community and, above all, to the people of the country where it obtains, since isolation from the socialist community holds up that country's development, deprives it of the advantages deriving from the world socialist system, and encourages the imperialist powers to make the most of nationalist tendencies for their own ends."

Soviet people have the most friendly feelings for their

brothers in the socialist countries in Europe and Asia. They rejoice at their success and take pride in their victories. They have helped them to build up a new life, and will continue to do so. In fair weather and foul, the peoples of the socialist countries act according to the principle—all for one and one for all. Whoever raises his hand against the socialist gains of the peoples of our community will be hurled back by a thousand million builders of socialism and communism.

As for Yugoslavia, as has already been said in the Report of the Central Committee, we have fought and will fight against the revisionist positions of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. At the same time we have stood and we stand for the utmost possible development and consolidation of relations with Yugoslavia along state lines. In questions of the struggle for peace, our positions and those of Yugoslavia coincide in many ways. The Soviet Union stands for the rapprochement and consolidation of all forces fighting against the imperialist warmongers, for peace and friendship among nations.

Comrades, the draft Program of the C.P.S.U. reflects the incontrovertible fact that communism has become the most powerful force of our times. Today Communist Parties are working in 87 countries of the world, and have a membership of about 40 million. And what vast numbers of people follow the Communists, share their views and convictions, and approve and support their policies. Communism has struck deep roots and is developing mightily—more than one-third of mankind are building a new life under its banner. In many non-socialist coun-

tries the working class is dealing sledge-hammer blows at the foundations of capitalism.

The world is going through an epoch of revolution. *Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist national-liberation revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggles to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these merge in a single worldwide revolutionary process undermining and destroying capitalism.*

The draft Program speaks of the paths of the peaceful and the non-peaceful development of revolution. In this question, as in all others, our Party stands solid on the principles collectively formulated by the international Communist movement in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

In the present epoch more *favorable international conditions* have arisen for the development of the world revolutionary movement, due mainly to the consolidation of the forces and the growth of the influence of the socialist system. The example set by socialism is exerting a powerful influence on people's minds, making them active fighters for the establishment of a new system. Peoples rising in revolution can rely on support from the socialist countries in the struggle against any attempts by world reaction to export counter-revolution. In building a new society they can get help of every kind from the socialist countries.

In the present epoch *internal conditions* for the transition of new countries to socialism have also become more favorable. Among these conditions are the general weakening of capitalism, and the deepening of its contradic-

tions; growth in the number, organization, and consolidation of the working class, and its greater influence on society; the growing number of allies of the working class, who are objectively interested in the struggle against imperialism and in the abolition of the monopolies' omnipotence; the appearance and consolidation of Communist parties in almost all countries of the world.

And there is another factor that has created difficulties for the revolutionary forces, a factor that should not be lost sight of. Since the war, the monopolist bourgeoisie has formed a new reactionary "Holy Alliance"—military blocs spearheaded not only against the socialist countries but also against the revolutionary working-class and the national-liberation movements. It has inflated the apparatus of violence and oppression to enormous proportions. At the same time, it is resorting to new and refined methods of splitting the working class, corrupting the trade union movement and, with that end in view, making extensive use of the reactionary leaders of social-democracy and the trade unions. They have launched a rabid campaign of anti-communism, and have rallied under this black flag all the enemies of the working people.

The possibility cannot be excluded of the monopolist bourgeoisie resorting to the most extreme and the most bloody means of maintaining their domination. Under these conditions Lenin's words hold true today as never before: the working class must "gain mastery of *all* forms or aspects of social activity. . . , without exception"; it must be prepared for "one form being replaced by another in the most rapid and unexpected way."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 76.

In the present epoch the tasks of the popular-democratic, the national-liberation and the socialist revolutions are drawing closer and becoming interwoven. The logic of social development has led to all these revolutions being directed primarily against one principal foe—imperialism, the monopolist bourgeoisie.

It is often asked how the world liberation movement will proceed.

It stands to reason that in the highly developed capitalist countries conditions for the transition to socialism have fully matured. After accomplishing their national liberation, anti-imperialist revolution, the seething underdeveloped states of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be able to effect the transition to socialism. Today practically any country, irrespective of its level of development, can enter on the road leading to socialism.

The world revolutionary process is extending ever wider, involving all the continents. There was a time when, unable to destroy the first socialist state in the world by military means, the imperialists tried to set up a *cordon sanitaire* to fence it off from the rest of the world. However, the revolutionary activity of the peoples of Europe and Asia has now extended the borders of socialism from the Elbe to the South China seas. The imperialists have done everything possible to confine the ideas of revolution within these bounds, but neither mountains nor oceans are obstacles to the ideas of liberty. This has been vividly borne out by the victorious revolution in Cuba.

The freedom-loving Cuban people have raised the banner of the people's anti-imperialist revolution, and cleared their land of the foreign plunderers and their

henchmen. Workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and the middle strata of the urban population have rallied around the banner of the revolution. This is one of the chief sources of the strength of the Cuban revolution, and a guarantee of its development along the road of social progress. This tiny, faraway, sea-girt island has now become a bright beacon of liberty, which is lighting the way to progress for all the peoples of Latin America.

Cuba lies far from the Soviet Union, but our peoples are close to each other. Our hearts are with you, heroes of Cuba, who are defending your independence and liberty against U.S. imperialism, and have inscribed socialist aims on your battle standards. Our people have rendered, and will continue to render assistance to the fraternal Cuban people in their sacred struggle for their just cause.

As the socialist system grows stronger, and as its advantages over capitalism reveal themselves more fully and socialist and democratic forces all over the world increase, more and more countries at various levels of development will enter upon the path of revolution and join the system of socialism, as streams add their waters to a mighty river.

In its revolutionary struggle, the working class will in the future come up against various opportunist trends that hinder consolidation of its forces and the achievement of its aims. As long as capitalism exists, these trends will appear time and again under various guises. That is why the draft Program emphasizes the necessity of a struggle both against the ideology of social democracy and revisionism, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The C.P.S.U. will continue to fulfil its internationalist

duty to the working class and the working people of the whole world; it will continue to consolidate the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the great army of Communists of all lands.

Comrades, our successes in communist construction will be of exceptional significance to the destinies of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, these vast and long-suffering continents, which are rising to full stature to become the makers of their own history, and are searching for paths towards a rapid rise in their economy and culture.

The national-liberation movement has entered the final phase of the abolition of colonial rule. The newly-free peoples are setting themselves the task of consolidating their political independence, of launching an offensive against economic backwardness so as to eliminate it, and of destroying all forms of dependence on imperialism.

This path is no easy one. Imperialism is losing the face-to-face battle with the national-liberation movement, but is not laying down its arms. Its methods are becoming more refined. The monopolists want to carry out a far-reaching plan for the preservation and consolidation of their positions in the underdeveloped countries, and are concealing the real essence of this plan behind a mask of pious talk about aid. In this, the U.S. imperialists are second to none.

Of course there can be no question of the imperialist powers giving disinterested aid to the underdeveloped countries. The monopolies cannot give up their super-profits. Their aims remain what they have always been—to keep the underdeveloped countries in the position

of agrarian appendages and sources of raw material, and to go on exploiting their peoples. The imperialists are nevertheless widely advertising their "aid" policy, but such "aid" is insincere, and has been forced upon them. It never occurred to the financial oligarchy to extend aid of any kind to the underdeveloped countries while imperialism was in sole control of the world.

The situation changed when the Soviet Union and the world socialist system broke the imperialist powers' monopoly of machinery deliveries, the granting of loans and credits, and technical know-how. The imperialists were then forced to change their tactics, if one may put it that way, and start talking of economic "aid" to the underdeveloped countries. They expected that in these countries prayers would be sent up and gratitude expressed to those who handed out a mere fistful of dollars.

Instead, the U.S. imperialists heard curses addressed to them. Why? Because actually the U.S.A. is granting but a tiny fraction of the tremendous sums it extracts from the underdeveloped countries.

Indeed, between 1946 and 1959 each dollar invested by the U.S. in all the underdeveloped countries brought in \$2.50 profit. Soviet economists have calculated that the monopolies of the U.S. and other Western countries annually extract 20 billion dollars from the underdeveloped countries. If that is aid, then what is robbery? Robbers are never thanked, they are only cursed.

The monopolies are trying to retain the underdeveloped countries in the grip of imperialism, to keep them in an unequal position in the capitalist world system of economy. This is a vain attempt. The peoples of the underdeveloped

countries do not wish to remain tied to imperialism. They can see the example set by socialism. It is not from books alone that the peoples now judge socialism, but first and foremost by its actual achievements. The people see that it has taken not centuries but the lifetime of one generation for Soviet power to do away with age-old backwardness, and the Soviet Union to become a mighty world power.

The achievement of political independence by the former colonies has had a favorable effect on their economic development. The rate of development of production has gone up. Before the Second World War these countries had an average annual rate of development of one per cent, but of late years this figure has gone up to 4 per cent. In many of these countries a state sector has been set up, and the national industry has begun to develop.

But these are only the first steps. The heritage of colonialism is making itself felt very strongly. The principal economic problems still await solution. Meanwhile, the upper crust of the bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, who have linked up their destinies with foreign capital, are doing all they can to keep the underdeveloped countries in the system of world capitalism. The road along which the imperialists and their henchmen want to drive these countries offers no guarantee of the achievement of those aims for which the peoples arose in struggle against the colonialists.

What is the way out? History provides a clear answer to this question: the way out should be sought along the non-capitalist path of development. Those who want to

know what fruits are to be gathered on this path should take a glance at the flourishing republics of Soviet Central Asia and at the other parts of our country that, after the October Revolution, bypassed the thorny path of capitalist development.

A country cannot simply drift on to the non-capitalist path of development. Only the active struggle of the working class and all working people, only the unification of all democratic and patriotic forces in a broad national front, can lead the peoples onto that path.

Marxist theoretical thought, by a deep study of the objective course of development, has discovered a form in which the unification of all sound forces of a nation can be most successfully achieved. That form is national democracy. Reflecting as it does the interests not of any one particular class but of broad strata of the people, a state of this type is called upon to consummate the anti-imperialist revolution for national liberation.

It is the good fortune of the peoples who have achieved national independence that they are entering upon the road of independent development at a time when the forces of imperialism and its ability to affect the course of events are steadily declining, while the forces and influence of socialism are steadily growing. In such conditions it will be immeasurably easier for them to solve the problems of economic and social development.

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the young, newly-free states, or of imposing socialism upon any of them. There has not been, is not, and will not be any export of socialism. But then there must not be any

imposition of colonialism, or any export of counter-revolution.

The C.P.S.U. considers alliance with peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism to be a cornerstone of its international policy. Our Party regards it as its internationalist duty to help peoples who have set out to win and strengthen national independence, to aid all peoples who are fighting for the abolition of the colonial system. Comrades, the fulfillment of our vast plans will be of decisive help in carrying out communism's historic mission—the abolition of war, and the establishment of everlasting peace on earth.

The experience of history has shown that war goes hand in hand with imperialism in the same way as the struggle against imperialism and the policy of the consolidation of peace is inherent in socialism. Human memory cannot forget the events inscribed in the annals of history not in ink but in the blood of millions. From the time the U.S.A. unleashed the first war of the epoch of imperialism in 1898, imperialism has let loose upon the peoples an unbroken series of "local wars," and has twice hurled mankind into world holocausts of unparalleled fury. Moreover, the ruins of towns and cities were still smouldering and the wounded hearts of millions who had lost relatives in the Second World War had not yet healed when the U.S. imperialists were already showing themselves eager to plunge into a third world war.

In the imperialist camp, and first and foremost in the U.S.A., groups are operating who behave like gamblers. They give no thought to the calamity that the new war they are hatching would bring mankind. The use of

thermonuclear and rocket weapons would turn all continents into zones of the mass annihilation of people and the destruction of material values. In a thermonuclear world war, the spatial factor will lose its former significance, and the Western Hemisphere will become an arena in which a holocaust of destruction will rage. In our times war cannot, and must not, serve as a means of settling international disputes.

It may be asked whether a contradiction exists between the recognition, on the one hand, that there is a danger of war and, on the other hand, our striving to banish war from the life of society. No, comrades, there is no contradiction in this.

The Party's confidence that the present generation has in its hands every possibility for preventing a world war is grounded in a profound and comprehensive analysis of the forces operating on the international scene. This analysis leads to an indisputable conclusion—the balance of world, political, economic and military forces has changed in favor of the peace-loving camp.

What gives it this preponderance? Primarily, the following factors:

First, the Soviet Union, the mightiest power of today, is directing all its efforts towards the preservation and consolidation of world peace. While the growing might of any big imperialist power was invariably accompanied by the growth of its aggressive aspirations and, consequently, led to a more acute threat of war, the growth of the forces of the first socialist state in the world has created, and is creating, effective guarantees against the danger of war, and increasing the chances of its being prevented.

Since the time the Soviet Union won first place in the world in the decisive fields of science and technology and placed this superiority in the scales of the struggle for peace, the possibility that world security can be ensured has increased many times over.

Second, another mighty force now stands, together with the Soviet Union, in the way of the imperialist aggressors—all the countries of the world socialist camp. Under the conditions of imperialism the emergence of any alliance of states is aimed at preparing new wars; the countries of the socialist community, on the contrary, are pooling their efforts exclusively to achieve the triumph of the cause of peace and social progress.

Third, another new force has appeared on the world scene—a large group of young sovereign states of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are interested in the preservation of peace for the accomplishment of the tasks of national regeneration. The majority of these states uphold a policy of peace. The fact that the vital interests of the peoples of these countries and the interests of the peoples of the socialist states coincide is the objective basis for uniting their efforts in defense of peace. Expressing, as it does, the will and the power of two-thirds of mankind, so mighty a front can force back the imperialist aggressors.

Fourth, the role that the masses of the capitalist countries now play in world politics has grown tremendously too. In the presence of the threat of a thermonuclear war, a coalition without precedent in history is in the process of formation, a coalition of the most varied mass movements united by a desire to rid mankind for all time of

the catastrophe of war. The international working class, which is becoming more and more aware of its historic responsibility for the fate of mankind, has become the great organizing force of this coalition. The banner of peace is in the firm hands of the many-million-strong army of Communists of all lands.

Such are the principal forces that, in our times, are blocking the way to war. They are truly countless today. Tomorrow they will become more powerful still. The socialist countries' fulfillment of their economic plans will be of decisive importance for their consolidation. The fulfillment of the plans set forth in our Program will make still more powerful the material basis that backs the defenders of peace.

Mankind can and must prevent war. That task, however, can be achieved only given the most active and resolute action by all peace-loving forces. *To curb the imperialists in good time, to give them no opportunity to use lethal weapons, to prevent war and not allow it to flare up—such is the crucial issue.*

The great service rendered by Lenin, by our Party, lies in their having brought forward and implemented the only foreign policy principle correct for a period of the existence of two social systems, that of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social structures, the principle our Party continues to implement. The principle of peaceful coexistence is winning the minds of hundreds of millions of people. Even representatives of bourgeois circles, those who are capable of sober thinking, recognize the telling force and role of this principle.

Genuine stability in the relations between states with

different social systems can be achieved only when the arms race will no longer be a sword of Damocles hanging over the peoples, that is to say, in conditions of general and complete disarmament. It is not on a foundation of military might, but on a foundation of general disarmament that a genuinely reliable system of international security can be created. That is why our Party, the Soviet Government and the whole of our people are determined to fight for disarmament, to look for paths to that objective, until this historic task is at last fulfilled.

Imperialism wants to turn the policy of "brinkmanship" into a constantly operating norm in international relations. We want to turn a durable peace and the general security of the peoples into a constantly operating norm in international relations. The politics of imperialism are an expression of the selfish interests of a handful of monopolies. The politics of socialism embody the interests of all mankind. That is why we are convinced that the central principle of socialism's foreign policy—the principle of peaceful coexistence—will be the banner under which all the peoples will rally, all those who want genuine peace and prosperity for mankind.

In adopting our new Program, our great Party solemnly proclaims to the whole of mankind that it sees as the principal aim of its foreign policy not only the prevention of world war but its eradication for all time from the life of society, that purpose to be achieved within the lifetime of our generation.

Our policy of peace is a principled, outspoken, socialist policy. We are defending the cause of peace not because we are weak. We were able to rout our enemies and en-

sure for ourselves peaceful conditions even when the young socialist republic was hemmed in on all sides by the imperialist wolves, when it was incomparably weaker than the imperialists in the military and economic sense.

During World War II the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the defeat of the Hitlerite war machine, and saved humanity from fascist enslavement. Can there be any doubt of the fate that awaits the imperialist maniacs if they dare attack the socialist gains of the people in the new situation, now that the Soviet Union has tremendous might at its disposal, now that the powerful socialist community is marching by its side in closed ranks, now that we are backed by hundreds of millions of people all over the world? In these conditions the launching of a war will mean the end of the anti-popular imperialist system.

Our unshakable confidence in this does not mean that we underestimate the forces of imperialism in the slightest. We know that imperialism is still strong. The possibility of a new war being unleashed by the imperialists cannot be excluded. The imperialist maniacs may dash headlong into adventures, in an attempt to stay the course of history. In a situation like that we have only one course: we must strengthen our might, create the most powerful weapons, and be prepared at any moment to hurl back any attacks made by the aggressors. We have declared more than once, and we declare again, that we are prepared to disband our army, and sink our atomic bombs and our rockets in the ocean, but of course only given general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Until the imperialist powers agree to that, we shall

see to it that our Armed Forces possess the most up-to-date means for the defense of our homeland—atomic and thermonuclear weapons and rockets of every range—and that all types of war materiel are maintained at the due level. The strengthening of the U.S.S.R.'s defenses and of the might of the Soviet Armed Forces—such is the paramount task of the Soviet people.

Communists are duty-bound to look history boldly in the face. As long as the war danger exists, as long as there are in this world imperialist jungles inhabited by ravenous tigers, we must educate all our people, our youth, in the spirit of devoted love for the Motherland, readiness to defend her, sparing neither strength nor life itself. Our cause is a great one, and to defend that cause the Soviet people will give their all. If the imperialists challenge us to war, we shall not only take up that challenge without hesitation, but, with all the devoted gallantry and courage inherent in Communists, we shall deal the enemy a devastating blow.

Comrades, all the content of our new Program confirms the fact that communism serves peace, the creation of conditions for the exclusion of war from the life of society. It is clear to everybody that one who sets himself such unprecedented tasks in the economic and cultural spheres and in improving the people's living standards cannot seek war. The Program of the construction of communism is at the same time a historic program of consolidating peace and international security.

Part Six

RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT PROGRAM

Comrades, since the day of its publication, political life in the Soviet Union has centered around the draft Program. The ideas it contains have, moreover, spread far beyond the bounds of our country and have met with a very warm response in the hearts of millions of people living in all countries on all continents.

The discussion of the draft Program has demonstrated with great force the unseverable ties between the Party and the people and the democratic nature of Soviet society, a society in which the people are the masters of their own fate.

Permit me to deal first with the results of the discussion of the draft Program in the Party and in the country and then to comment briefly on the response it has aroused throughout the world.

I. UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF THE DRAFT PROGRAM BY THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE. AMENDMENTS AND ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT

The discussion of the draft Program acquired dimensions unprecedented even in the history of our Party and

the Soviet state. This was only natural because the aims of the Program and the tasks elaborated in it concern and fill with enthusiasm each and every one of us.

The draft Program has been thoroughly discussed in all its aspects at meetings of all primary Party organizations, at district, city, regional and territorial Party conferences, and at congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics. Over nine million Communists, the entire Party, that is, took part in those discussions. More than 500,000 meetings were held at factories, collective farms, offices, army and navy units, and trade union and Komsomol organizations, at which the draft Program was discussed. About 73,000,000 people attended them. More than 4,600,000 people spoke on the draft Program at Party meetings, conferences, congresses of parties of the Union republics and at meetings of working people.

In addition to this, the Central Committee of the Party, local Party bodies, the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, radio and television have received more than 300,000 letters and articles.

Statistics, however, are unable to gauge the actual number of people who participated. The discussion permeated the entire ideological life of the country and was carried on in the most varied forms—at meetings of factory personnel, at state and collective farms, in offices, institutes and schools and in the course of earnest talks at work and at home. It may be said without exaggeration that the draft Program was discussed by the whole people and was accepted by the people as their own program, as the purpose of their life.

The Congress has every reason to affirm that the *draft*

Program has been unanimously approved by all Communists and by the entire Soviet people. The ideas contained in the Program and the plans it outlines have been accepted not only in the minds but in the hearts of all Soviet people. The speeches and letters of Party members and non-Party people are filled with lofty thoughts and feelings. In the letters—many of them could more truly be called poems, so inspired and emotional are they—people welcome the new Party Program with all their hearts and express their determination to work for its implementation. The thoughts and feelings of the people are reflected in those letters as the sun is reflected in a drop of water.

The discussion of the draft Program was strictly to the point and was conducted on a highly-principled ideological level. This is further evidence of the political maturity of the many-million-strong army of Communists, of all Soviet people. It is gratifying to note the profound knowledge of theory and practice with which the Soviet people tackled the wide range of big, new and complicated problems connected with the building of a communist society.

The draft Program has widened the ideological horizons of the Soviet people, they now see more clearly their great goal and the problems that have to be solved. The Program has imparted great creative power to the nation-wide socialist emulation in honor of the Congress. This shows convincingly that the Party and the people have virtually adopted the Program and are already working for its implementation.

Comrades, the numerous proposals for amendments to the draft Program are marked by a creative effort to find

the best solutions to the problems presented; they show the profound interest that all Soviet people have in the building of a communist society as efficiently as possible.

Permit me to report to the Congress that all proposals have been thoroughly studied by the Central Committee. First I will speak of those proposals that the Central Committee considers acceptable. I shall mention only the most significant of them.

1. The Central Committee supports the proposal to stress more strongly in the Program the significance of accelerated technological progress, the fuller and more rational employment of production capacities.

2. The Central Committee is of the opinion that the proposals to include a special point in the Program on the need to make capital investments more efficient, the impermissibility of scattering investments and the importance of concentrating them in the decisive sectors, are correct.

In the course of the discussion attention was rightly called to a lack of co-ordination between the erection of new industrial buildings and provisions for equipment for them. We actually do suffer great losses from this lack of co-ordination. For instance, on January 1, 1961, there were industrial buildings with a total floor area of millions of square meters that had not been completely equipped and stocks of equipment to the value of hundreds of millions of rubles for which the necessary buildings were not ready. The Central Committee and the Government already have measures in hand to improve capital construction in our country. It is an urgent task to establish strict order in this important matter.

3. At some Party meetings and conferences it has been proposed that the Program make provision for the establishment of an iron and steel center in the heart of the European part of the Soviet Union, using the world's biggest ironfield, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, as the basis. This proposal is in accordance with plans. I have already said that by the end of the twenty-year period we plan to complete a third metallurgical center in Siberia, and to establish two more new iron and steel centers. We are of the opinion that it would be to some purpose to state in the Program in which areas they are to be built. Party organizations, planning bodies and all executives in the iron and steel industry would then bear greater responsibility for the implementation of the plans.

4. In view of the numerous proposals received, the Central Committee considers it essential to add to the relevant section of the Program a special point on the conservation of natural resources and their proper use. Our forests, waters, fish and other natural resources constitute tremendous national wealth. As we march forward towards communism we must treasure what nature provides, we must use our resources wisely and rationally, we must restore and multiply the wealth of our forests, rivers and seas.

5. Comrade Nektov, Hero of Socialist Labor, and many other people working in agriculture quite rightly propose that the Program emphasize the need to pay greater attention to the maintenance of farm machinery. We cannot remain indifferent to the fact that the efficiency of tractors and other machines in many collective and state farms is low and, what is more important, they go out of com-

mission prematurely because of poor maintenance. A negligent and, at times, even barbarous attitude toward machinery hampers the growth of farm output and is nothing less than sheer waste of national property.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics must immediately elaborate a system of economic, organizational and technical measures that will ensure the long life and better maintenance of tractors, harvester combines and other machinery.

6. Many proposals have been received from working people, especially from women, to reduce the time required for the fulfillment of such an important task as the further expansion of the network of pre-school institutions. The draft Program envisaged the expansion, in the second decade, of the network of nurseries and kindergartens so that all families wishing to do so would have an opportunity to maintain their children in them. The Central Committee, in due consideration of the wishes expressed during the discussion of the draft Program, deems it essential to meet these wishes and do everything possible to satisfy the demand for nurseries and kindergartens within the next few years.

There have also been many proposals that mothers of large families should, at their own request, be permitted a shorter working day and have their wages adjusted accordingly. The Central Committee is of the opinion that this question should be submitted to our state and trade union bodies for study and for the elaboration of relevant proposals.

Many people have suggested at Party meetings, meet-

ings of working people, and in letters to the Central Committee, that the resolution of the housing problem should be speeded. Taking note of the numerous suggestions on that score, the Central Committee deemed it necessary to point out in the Program that by the end of the first decade families that still live in substandard and overcrowded dwellings, will get new flats.

7. In the course of the discussion proposals were made on literally every aspect of the life of our society, all of them reflecting deep thought and care for the all-round improvement of our economic and cultural organizations. Many of the proposals concern definite questions of the development of industry, agriculture, planning and management, and the improvement of the work of our state and economic machinery, and making it cheaper to run. A large group of proposals concerns the expansion of research work on various problems and, most important of all, the application of the latest scientific achievements in industry and agriculture, in the transport services, in building and in communications. Many of the submitted proposals deal with questions of ideological work, communist morality, education, culture, and with further measures to combat parasitism, money-grabbing and other manifestations of private-property psychology. Valuable proposals have been tendered in the sphere of town planning, especially housing construction and urban and rural improvement schemes.

There have been many proposals on other problems as well. The basic line for the solution of these problems is laid down clearly in the draft Program. Many of the proposals, however, concern important questions of state,

economic and cultural development and of political and ideological educational work. They are deserving of serious consideration. The final text of the draft Program has been edited with due attention paid to these proposals. The Central Committee is studying all proposals attentively and will instruct the relevant Party, state or other bodies to take the necessary practical steps.

Party members and non-Party people have offered much criticism and many proposals on the work of local Party, governmental, economic and trade union organizations and institutions. Defects have been pointed out in production, in trade and public catering, in the distribution of housing and the maintenance of dwelling houses, etc. Cases of bureaucratic methods and red tape and the abuse of official status by some executives have been exposed. Our Congress should instruct Regional Committees, Territorial Committees, and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics to make a thorough study of these criticisms and proposals, to adopt measures to remedy the defects that have been exposed and report on those measures to relevant plenary meetings and then to current Party conferences and congresses.

There have been some proposals, few, it is true, whose authors have an unrealistic approach to the solution of some problems of communist construction. Some comrades, for instance, propose that the Program should provide for the overall electrification of the country, including that of the farms, within the next ten or even five years. Proposals have also been made that the Program provide for other such "decisive" but economically unrealistic measures. We understand the feelings of such

comrades but we cannot agree with them. It would be wrong to include in the Program anything that we cannot yet accomplish. By such commitments and promises we would only be discrediting the Program.

There is another type of proposal that has been submitted by those whose approach to the processes taking place in life is, I would say, academic, and not creative. Some comrades, for example, are of the opinion that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be retained until the final victory of communism has been achieved. These comrades do not take into consideration the conditions that have grown up in our country, they base themselves exclusively on random quotations, losing sight of the essence of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the state in the dictatorship of the proletariat as the form of state in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the first phase of communism.

They do not take into consideration the fact that there now exist only laboring classes in our socialist society, classes engaged in socialist production, and that they are socially, politically and ideologically identical. After the final victory of socialism in our country there is no basis for the dictatorship of one class. And, indeed, in respect to which class can there possibly be a dictatorship? There is no such class.

Such comrades, moreover, are of the opinion that since the alliance of the working class and the peasantry has remained, the dictatorship of the proletariat should also remain. But those comrades do not understand that the workers' and peasants' alliance needed the dictatorship of the proletariat to fight against the exploiting classes,

for the socialist transformation of peasant farming and the re-education of the peasantry, for the building of socialism. Now that those tasks have been accomplished the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is developing and growing stronger without the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the conditions of a socialist state of the whole people.

Those comrades also refer to the organizational, economic, cultural and educational functions inherent in the dictatorship of the proletariat that are retained in the period of the transition to communism. These functions, however, will remain under communism as well. If we are to be consistent the dictatorship of the proletariat must, according to the logic of those comrades, remain under communism. The fallacy of such arguments is obvious to everyone.

The postulate on the transformation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people as formulated in the Program, is fully borne out by reality. This state is a product of reality; it expresses our policy on the political organization of society, a policy aimed at the all-round development of democracy.

Some comrades propose forbidding kolkhoz trading, and some of the more zealous propose doing away with trading altogether and replacing it with direct distribution. Is there any need to prove that these comrades are running a long way ahead? The question of whether or not there is to be trading is not decided by somebody's wish or by decree. In order to effect a transition to direct distribution we must create the necessary material and technical basis and an abundance of material values. So long

as that does not exist we must not curtail; but, on the contrary, must develop and perfect Soviet trade. Nor can kolkhoz trading be prohibited since it plays a considerable role in supplying the people with foodstuffs. The collective farmers have to sell part of their produce and fixed market prices cannot be established administratively, as some comrades assume. A reduction in prices on the kolkhoz market should be effected primarily by increasing the output of farm produce and not by administrative measures that must be applied stringently only against profiteers. At the same time the work of the co-operatives must be improved, they must help the farmers realize their surplus produce.

In view of the importance of the continued expansion of Soviet trade, the Central Committee is of the opinion that it would serve a good purpose to include in the Program a point on trade and its improvement in the period of communist construction.

Our Party, being a party of scientific communism, presents and accomplishes the tasks of communist construction gradually, as the necessary conditions arise and mature. Above I gave details of the Party's plans in the sphere of production and living standards.

Some comrades, however, propose going farther than the planned targets and extending, in the near future, the principle of the free satisfaction of material and cultural requirements on a broader scale; this would be tantamount to introducing equal pay for all, irrespective of qualifications or the nature of the work performed. Such proposals are profoundly erroneous. To take such a path would be to remove the material stimulus for higher

labor productivity, to hamper the building of communism.

As we all know, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Party, considerable work has been done in recent years to bring order into the wage system. These measures have resulted in considerable reductions of high incomes and in the salaries of some categories of officials. At the same time the minimum rate of wages has been raised. The system of abolition of income tax that has been established is helping narrow the gap between the incomes of various categories of working people.

In short, much has been done to narrow the gap between the incomes of the various groups of the population. It is stated clearly in the draft Program that the Party will continue to pursue this course consistently and unswervingly in order to reach a point when, at the end of the first decade, the very category of low-paid workers ceases to exist in our country and the living standards of the whole people will have risen.

Simultaneously with wages, the social funds will increase at an accelerated rate, which will eliminate inequality in incomes and bring about a more rapid improvement in the living standards of low- and medium-paid workers. All egalitarian tendencies are contrary to the interests of the development of production and the raising of living standards, contrary to the education of the working people in the spirit of a communist attitude to labor.

We must stringently enforce the principle of "he who does not work, neither shall he eat," the principle of pay according to work performed. At the same time we must close all loopholes that enable anti-social elements to rob

society, acquire incomes from sources other than labor and live a parasitic life. Profiteering and similar machinations must be rigorously suppressed with the full force of Soviet laws and of public opinion.

We favor a steady improvement in the living standards of the entire people but at the same time we are against an excessive accumulation of property which fosters private property psychology.

In the course of the discussion many amendments and addenda of an editorial nature have been proposed. The Central Committee has examined those amendments. Some of them improve the text. These amendments and changes are contained in the draft Program you have before you. Such are the principal questions presented in the course of the discussion of the draft Program.

II. INTERNATIONAL COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM

Comrades, the draft Program of the C.P.S.U. has acquired the character of a document of truly world importance and has already had considerable influence on the political climate of the world. It has aroused the keen attention of the masses in the socialist countries, of the general public in the imperialist states and of the peoples that have won their independence or are still groaning under the heel of the colonialists. It has penetrated to the most distant corners of the earth, and has found its way into the columns of even the most reactionary publications.

It is naturally gratifying to us Soviet Communists to know that the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the many-million-strong army of Communists of all countries, have given the draft Program the highest praise. As internationalists we are pleased when the Communists of other countries state that they draw inspiration for their own practical activities and struggle from the Program, that the achievements of our Party multiply their forces, the forces of liberty, peace, and socialism throughout the world. Permit me, on behalf of the delegates to the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., on behalf of all the members of our Party, on behalf of the entire Soviet people, to express our heartfelt thanks to the fraternal parties, to Communists throughout the world for their support for our plans and our aims.

We assure you, our brothers in other countries, that our Leninist Party, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism, will do everything in its power to bring mankind closer to a world of peace, happiness and prosperity, to communist society.

All people holding progressive, democratic views note that the Program provides solutions to the most urgent problems of the day, and will play an outstanding part in social movements and in the progressive changes of modern times. As far as the bourgeoisie and its press are concerned, they have to admit that the Program and its fulfillment will have an exceptional impact on the situation throughout the world.

An examination of the statements made by prominent bourgeois and Right-wing socialist personalities in respect of the draft Program of our Party will enable us to draw

a number of conclusions that are of significance in matters of principle.

It must first of all be said that a real battle between the two ideologies, the communist and the bourgeois, has developed around the ideas of the Program. We may make bold to say that the communist ideas embodied in the gigantic plans for construction vividly demonstrate their immeasurable superiority over bourgeois ideology, over the ideology of violence and destruction, and score fresh victories over that ideology.

The first victory is that bourgeois ideologists now admit that communism, as a new socio-economic organization of society, is becoming an ever more powerful force in our times. In the nineteenth century the bourgeoisie declared that communist ideas were a utopia and those who championed them were persecuted and suppressed.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century they carried out several "anti-communist" crusades on an international scale, and in a number of countries communism was declared to have been buried for all time. In the fifties they were loud in their assertions that communism was suffering from an "incurable crisis." But a few years passed and imperialist reactionaries were forced to take note of the colossal growth of communism, its vitalizing force and its growing significance to world history.

Extremely typical of the evolution of bourgeois views are the statements made by such a serious bourgeois weekly as the British *Economist*. At the time our Party adopted its second program the *Economist* asserted that Bolshevism was already on its last legs; that same journal is now compelled to admit that the Program is "a projec-

tion of current trends," and that "the promises in the manifesto do not look fanciful."

The Communists have shown that they do not waste words, that they fulfil their promises. They have compelled even their opponents to respect their plans. Communism has entered present-day life plainly and visibly, it has occupied a leading position in that life and there is no power that can check its victorious advance.

An analysis of world comments permits of still another important conclusion; the great idea of the Program, that communism and peace are indivisible, is becoming ever more widespread among the population of the capitalist countries. Even many representatives of the bourgeoisie have to admit that a country which has announced such great plans of construction must want peace. In the U.S.A., the citadel of imperialism, the democratic public counterpose the Program of our Party, that magnificent charter of peace and humanism, to the plans of the American imperialists for military mobilization, plans bringing "blood, sweat and tears."

The Australian *Sydney Morning Herald*, an old hand at anti-Soviet propaganda, had to admit that the Soviet Union, having such a grandiose plan in view, calls for peace.

And here is what a bourgeois newspaper in another part of the world, the Lebanese *An Nahar*, has to say: "The advocates of war have been dealt a crushing blow. Once the substance of the Program is understood by everybody the flag of peace will be raised everywhere."

What do such admissions tell us? They tell us that the

Program has administered a big new defeat to the aggressive forces, to those who idolize the hydrogen bomb.

The great ideas of the Program are shattering to pieces the myths and anti-communist inventions of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. Communism's power of attraction is growing and the ideas of communism are acquiring more and more supporters. The new Program will help ever growing numbers of people to realize that communism is superior to capitalism economically, politically and morally, that the future belongs to communism.

It is not difficult to see the causes of the alarm felt today by the bourgeoisie and their advocates; what have they to counterpose to the Program of our Party? They have nothing to say about the future, they cannot plan for a single year, to say nothing of twenty years. The Burmese writer Dau A Ma expressed this very well when she said, "The United States is the monarch of capitalist society, the 'commander-in-chief' in the struggle against communism. That country, even if it wanted to out of spite, could not draw up any plan that would compete with the Soviet plan. The same is true of Britain. She is unable to compile a single plan similar to that of the Soviet Union."

The imperialist bourgeoisie are particularly worried about the effect of the Program on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Albert Gore, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, gave warning on the draft Program; he said that its appeal to the underprivileged nations must not be underrated.

The ideas of the Program really do have great attraction for all people exploited by capitalism. *The Times of*

India wrote: "Since the Communist Manifesto, there has not been a more inspiring communist document. The practicability of the Program is also not in doubt; at least the Afro-Asian nations are impressed by Soviet achievements which create a kind of conviction in them that anything that Russia promises it can achieve." Not a bad testimonial for our Program and our activities!

Imperialist propaganda is continually inventing new methods of lauding capitalism and scaring the peoples of the newly-free countries with the difficulties of a non-capitalist path of development. The more the imperialist bourgeoisie do this, the more obvious becomes their fear of advanced ideas that inspire the peoples in the struggle for the final abolition of colonialism, in the struggle for social progress. As far as we are concerned, we do not foist our ideas on anybody. If, however, the peoples of the newly-free countries choose to adopt the ideas of socialism, the ideas of progress, all we can say, on the basis of our own experience, is that they are doing the right thing.

Imperialism's ideological lackeys are trying to comfort their masters with sham arguments to the effect that the ideas of communism are not in any way attractive to the population of the Western countries. What nonsense, gentlemen!

The ideas of communism are alive and are gaining ground wherever there are people who toil and are humiliated by capitalism. Do you want to know what millions of people in the countries of your lauded "civilization" are thinking? Ask any of the workers living in fear of the morrow, or any of the ruined farmers, ask the un-

employed in the headlines, ask all those who want peace and happiness for their children. You will learn that millions of people in your own countries are drawn to communism.

I want to quote a letter to *Pravda* from an unemployed American working man. "This draft and its meaning," he wrote, "holds out to the world an answer to the daily murder of workers everywhere by capitalist crimes against the people of the world. It is a program that brings hope and encouragement to all the oppressed people in the world."

This American appeals to the Soviet people: "I can only close by saying, hurry, complete this task, the whole world looks to you in the Soviet Union to fulfil and complete this program, as fast as can be done, and thus save millions who would otherwise, ground down, give up and die of exploitation." That document was written in his heart's blood; it is a genuine expression of the thoughts and feelings of our brothers in the capitalist countries.

The ideas of the Program, the ideas of communism, are spreading over our planet because millions of people who are oppressed and under-privileged see in them the embodiment of their best feelings and aspirations. The high priests of capitalism cannot fence off the peoples from the ideas of progress by means of police cordons and "iron curtains." Communism is the hope of the peoples, their guarantee of a radiant future!

The imperialist bourgeoisie still do not, of course, want to admit their ideological defeat. That stands to reason, since it would mean political suicide for them to do so. They are making feverish efforts and using any means to

minimize the significance of the draft Program of the C.P.S. U. to weaken its influence on the masses.

The ruling elite of capitalist society are making vain attempts to counterpose their own platform, some plan for the preservation of capitalism, to our Program. How often have we read and heard of plans for the rejuvenation of capitalism. But capitalism is inexorably decaying. That, too, stands to reason, for there are no means that can save the doomed system. Such a system does not and cannot possess ideas that inspire the peoples. None other than the *New York Post* has provided irrefutable evidence of the poverty of bourgeois ideology. "For several years," says the paper, "a number of American leaders have been wrestling with the concept of 'national purpose,' and have come up with little more than empty abstractions."

It is now clear that capitalism has no positive program of its own and no arguments to offer in criticism of our Program. Coming up against an impasse, the legion of capitalist apologists searched in an arid desert for anti-communist arrows. They did not find anything but the poisoned arrows of slander, insinuations and rigged quotations. Hence the utter confusion, impotent malice and wretched skepticism in the camp of the enemies of communism.

Bourgeois critics have shouted in chorus, as though in response to a command—the Program is not feasible. The familiar incantations that we know since the first Soviet Five-Year Plans have again appeared in the columns of the reactionary newspapers—"utopia," "mirage," "illusion."

Perhaps the opponents of our Program are in possession of some figures, calculations or facts? Nothing of the sort. Every proposition in our Program is substantiated. They have nothing but noisy declarations. Every figure of ours is computed and proved. They are as afraid of figures as the devil is of holy water. We have given an exact scientific analysis of the course of historical development. They have nothing but the incantations of their fortunetelling from tea leaves.

They are so intent on this they do not even realize they keep falling into obvious contradictions and cannot make their stories hang together. Moreover, they collide with each other.

One group of the critics is shouting that the Program cannot be fulfilled while another group shouts, "This is a challenge! Save yourselves if you can!" The French newspaper *Figaro* maintains that the new Soviet plans are "castles in the air." The Austrian newspaper *Das kleine Volksblatt* calls on the West "not to regard the gigantic aims the Kremlin sets itself as mere castles in the air, for those aims are a challenge to the West in the real sense of the word." Here it is truly a case of understand if you can! As you can see these critics lost their way in a forest of not even three, but merely two pine-trees!

The second hobby-horse the critics of our Program try to ride is the worn-out one about the absence of freedom of the individual under communism. The Austrian Social-Democratic newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung* tried to back up that absurd assertion. Here is what the paper said: "We believe that on the day after tomorrow a Soviet citizen actually may get a free ticket to travel, but we do not

believe that it is at all likely that he will have the right to go where he wants."

If anybody were to ask a Soviet citizen whether he could go wherever he wanted he would look at his interlocutor as though he were mentally deranged and had escaped from some booby hatch. Soviet people go wherever they like. In answer to the same question, what would hundreds of Americans, those "freedom riders" who traveled through the southern states and ended up behind bars, have to say?

No less ridiculous is another line of bourgeois propaganda. They announce, of all things, that the conditions Soviet people want to achieve under communism already exist in the U.S.A. and certain other capitalist countries.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater mockery of the facts, misrepresentation of the living conditions of working people in the capitalist countries. Just think of it—and the American newspapers admit that the "level of unemployment remains a national scandal," that millions of people are actually starving. And yet attempts are being made to delude those millions, who are experiencing all the "joys" of the American way of life, into believing that their requirements are being satisfied.

Year after year American newspapers report that medical attention is ruinously expensive in America and now they would have us believe that they, too, have free medical attention. Yesterday the American press was telling the whole world that rent is the ruination of millions of families and today, according to their hack writers, housing in the U.S.A. is almost rent-free. They have all got hopelessly mixed up in their lies, those would-be critics!

The Program of the C.P.S.U. consistently pursues the line of co-existence and peaceful competition. As we see, the challenge to peaceful co-existence scares those who do not want peace. Some bourgeois newspapers go so far as to say that peaceful co-existence is a "weapon of world revolution." The *New York Times*, one of the leading newspapers of the capitalist world, said in commenting on the Program that it is a new declaration of war on the free world, a declaration of a military, political, economic and propaganda war.

That, gentlemen, is hysteria. Your nerves have given way. In what part of the Program did you find anything in the nature of a declaration of war on the capitalist world? Which article, which proposition of the Program gives you grounds for such assertions? There are none, there cannot be any such grounds. If the ink-slingers on the *New York Times* are still harping on the old theme, it only goes to show that they are afraid of peace, of co-existence, since they realize that capitalism cannot stand up to peaceful competition with socialism. Imperialist circles are all out for war and are thereby demonstrating time and again that their plans are inimical to the vital interests of the peoples.

We are not in the least upset that the obscurantists and upset if they were to praise us. If the forces of obscurantism are attacking our Program. We should be antismust be very much to the point. We are following our own road, the road of communism, with confidence, for we are quite certain that sooner or later all mankind will take that road.

Part Seven

THE PARTY IN THE PERIOD OF FULL-SCALE COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, the grandeur of the new Program speaks of the grandeur of our Leninist Party. In giving expression to the lofty ideals of communism our Party is creditably performing its mission as leader of the revolutionary transformation of society. *Our Marxist-Leninist Party which arose as a party of the working class has become the party of the entire people.* In this is manifested the monolithic unity and might of Soviet society, welded by identity of interests and outlook. At all times, in fair weather and foul, in days of triumph and in days of stress, *the Party is with the people and the people are with the Party.* The Communist Party is the force that rallies the will, the efforts and energies of our people to accomplishing the tasks that confronts us in the new stage of historical development.

Today, when our country possesses vast material potentialities, a highly-developed science and technology, when the initiative of the masses is in full tide, the rates of our progress depend chiefly on the correct implementation of our political line on a countrywide and local scale, on

the proper and effective functioning of all our state and public organizations, on their ability to make proper use of the advantage of the socialist system. Hence the need to enhance the directing and organizing role of the Party in the period of the full-scale building of communism.

Along what principal lines will the Communist Party develop during this period? We believe that it will be along the lines of:

further enhancing the role of the Party as the highest form of social and political organization, a guiding influence in all spheres of communist construction;

strengthening the unity between the Party and the people, extending the variety of forms of Party ties with the non-Party masses, raising ever broader sections of working people to the level of Party members;

further promoting inner-Party democracy, enhancing the significance of the name of Party member, stimulating still greater activity and initiative among all Communists, strengthening the unity and solidity of Party ranks.

It should be stressed that a new, higher level in the Party's political work and organizational leadership has to be attained to correspond to the period of the full-scale building of communism. Adoption of the new Program is a great historic act. But it is only the first step. The main thing is to implement the Program. The imposing tasks set out in the Program place very high demands on the Party as a whole, and on every Party organization.

The Rules of the C.P.S.U., which our Congress will adopt on the basis of the new Program, elaborate the Party's organizational principles in conformity with the

conditions and tasks of the period of full-scale communist construction.

The question of how elected Party bodies should be formed is one of fundamental importance. The draft Program proposes a new procedure, which ensures *regular renewal of the composition of the leading Party bodies*. We believe that it would be advisable to apply this procedure also to elected bodies of state and public organizations.

The transition to this system will be a big step forward in the development of our democracy. It is in accord with the new period in the political organization of Soviet society, when the state has become a state of the whole people, and the Party the spokesman of the will and interests of the whole people. A distinctive feature of this period is the tremendous growth of the Party's ranks and of its ideological power, the growth of its cadres, and the unprecedented rise in the political and cultural level of the people.

When the Party was coming into being, it comprised a handful of advanced workers and intellectuals, who were drawn to Marxism because they wanted to know the laws of history, who sought a revolutionary way out of the contradictions existing in society. These professional revolutionaries, supremely devoted to the cause of communism, constituted the guiding core of the Leninist Party, which organized and politically enlightened the working class and the working masses, led them in the assault on the old exploiter system, and secured the triumph of socialism. From its very inception, the strength of our Party lay in its high ideological integrity, in the cohesion and dis-

cipline of its ranks, in its ties with the masses, and in the support it was given by the working class and the laboring peasantry.

In the battles for the victory of the October Revolution, in the fire of the Civil War, on the fronts of socialist construction, in the grim ordeal of the Great Patriotic War, and in the post-war years, the strength of our Party multiplied, its ranks grew, its cadres became steeled. Shoulder to shoulder with the Communists, non-Party people too, who by and large are kindred in spirit with the Communists, are today actively building communism.

Whereas in the early years of the revolution we had only a small number of leading Party workers, today we possess inexhaustible possibilities for promoting new people to leading posts. It is necessary to introduce a system that will make it difficult for comrades who have been elected to leading posts to bar the way to fresh forces, that will, on the contrary, give the latter an opportunity to apply their knowledge and ability in responsible posts in Party, government, trade union and other mass organizations, in the leadership of the Party and the country. We have very many capable, educated people. All they lack is the necessary experience, and that is where our leading comrades should help to train new cadres.

Every organism consists of separate cells and is continually renewed as some cells die off and others are born. The Party and society as a whole are subject to the same process, to the same law of life. This natural process cannot be checked or violated without causing harm to the development of the organism of the Party and society as a whole.

It is an open secret that there are comrades among us who in their time were duly appreciated and elected to leading offices, and that they have been occupying them for dozens of years. During this time some of them have lost the ability to work creatively, have lost all sense of the new, and have become a hindrance. To keep them on in these posts just because they were elected to them in the past would be wrong. Surely we shouldn't confine ourselves perpetually to the same persons, once elected to leading bodies. That is not our policy. Naturally, if Party comrades are not re-elected to a Party body after the expiration of their term of office this must not be a reason for discrimination. If a Communist has worked well in the post entrusted to him for a given term, all credit to him.

Our task is to draw into leading Party and government work younger comrades who have proved their worth in work. Guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of generations of revolutionaries and builders of socialism, the new forces, in co-operation with the tried cadres, will strengthen the might of our country, advance its economy, science, technology and culture.

If we take into account that there are hundreds of thousands of elected bodies in our ramified system of primary and higher Party organizations, of our government bodies and public organizations, it will be clear that after every regular election millions of new people will be drawn into leading work.

The constant renewal of cadres, the promotion of comrades who have proved their worth, the combination in our orchestra of Party and state of young workers and

workers mature in experience, is a law of development of the Marxist-Leninist party. In this the Party proceeds, in particular, from the lessons derived from the consequences of the cult of Stalin's person. I have spoken on this subject on more than one occasion, and in particular in the Central Committee's report to the present Congress.

The drafts of the Program and the Rules, these basic documents of the Party, formulate propositions that should guarantee against any repetition of the cult of the individual, should create a reliable barrier in its way. We declare from the rostrum of the Congress: the Party must take all necessary measures to bar recurrence of the cult of the individual for all time.

Regular renewal of elected bodies must henceforth become an implicit rule of Party life, of government and public life. This will open new opportunities for effecting the principles of collective leadership still more consistently.

The Party relies on the collective experience and collective thought of the Communists, of the entire people; it gives every encouragement to the initiative displayed by mass organizations, by all Soviet people. Every good innovation, every good idea, every valuable proposal should be given the most thoughtful consideration and support, and should be realized.

But we have officials who ignore the diverse manifestations of initiative displayed by the masses. To them the only important thing is what they themselves think or say. This is not a communist, but a bureaucratic point of view. It is the duty of all leading workers, all Party organizations, to apply the talents and abilities of every citizen to the service of communist construction.

The proposed system of forming elective bodies opens new opportunities for developing criticism and self-criticism, resolutely combating instances where individuals are personally dependent on the whims of their superiors, doing away with elements of nepotism, and the mutual concealment of shortcomings and mistakes in work. The principle of renewal will make it possible to clear the elective bodies of people who are not inclined to consider the opinion and will of the collective leadership of the given organization and of the masses, who have lost their sense of responsibility to the Party and the people. Henceforth the elective organs must be regularly renewed and involve the most capable people who have proved their worth and are devoted to communism.

It is essential in the interests of our work to ensure a proper combination of old and new cadres and a continuity of leadership, especially in the higher bodies. Without continuity it would be difficult to pursue a correct domestic and foreign policy and to direct economic and cultural development with success.

Continuity of leadership is one of the basic Leninist principles. Lenin teaches us: "That, in fact, is one of the functions of a party organization and of party leaders worthy of the name: tirelessly, through prolonged, persistent, diversified and comprehensive efforts of all thinking representatives of the given class, to evolve the knowledge, the experience and—in addition to knowledge and experience—the political instinct necessary for the speedy and correct solution of intricate political problems."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 50.

The prestige of Party workers, of its leaders is a valuable asset of the Party. While we reject the cult of the individual, we do not by any means waive the need of training leading Party workers and enhancing their prestige. The whole point is that Party leaders should be promoted from among the Party membership on the merit of their talents and their political and business capacity, that they should have close ties with the Communists, with the people. That is how Party leaders were developed in Lenin's lifetime. That is how it should be today.

We must implicitly observe and develop the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective leadership, ensure strict supervision by the Party membership of the activities of the leading bodies and officials, the promotion of their activity and initiative, their really constructive participation in the elaboration and implementation of Party policy, the development of criticism and self-criticism.

If a party always looks ahead, if it always turns to the people and draws on their intelligence and enriches and broadens its experience, it is able to weather all trials. Our Party, founded and reared by Lenin, is just such a party.

So let us, comrades, cherish and hold sacred, and ever more consistently implement the behests of our immortal leader and teacher. Our successes will then be all the more impressive.

At the new stage of our development it is especially important to improve Party leadership of the Soviets and the economic, trade union, Komsomol, co-operative and

other mass organizations. This is an essential condition for enhancing the organization of the people and for mobilizing their creative powers. While bearing responsibility for the state of work in all spheres of communist construction, the Party organizations must not usurp the functions of government bodies and public organizations. The main thing in the Party's leadership of the mass organizations is to mobilize their efforts to build communism; regularly to improve the composition of their leading bodies; to promote, properly place and train cadres.

At the present stage the role and responsibility of the Party member are particularly great. The name of Communist is an honored one. Today, as never before, he is expected to be in the van of the struggle for the implementation of the Party's policy. In his devoted service to the people, in his social behavior and in his personal life, a Communist should be a model in observing the communist moral code and thereby contribute to developing and strengthening communist relations.

A cardinal source of the Party's strength and invincibility lies in its unshakable ideological and organizational solidity. In its arsenal the Party retains organizational guarantees against all manifestations of factionalism and group activity incompatible with Leninist party principles.

The measures envisaged in the draft Program concerning renewal of cadres, prevention of the cult of the individual, and an extensive promotion of inner-Party democracy are truly revolutionary measures. They are organically connected with the Party's general plan, its tactics and strategy in the struggle for communism.

Realization of these measures will make it possible to

develop on a still broader scale the training of capable cadres devoted to communism, to promote the activity of the Party, of all the mass organizations, of the whole people. This means that the development of the economy and culture, the building of communism will proceed still more successfully.

Comrades, the elaboration of the Program for the full-scale building of communism is evidence of the tremendous theoretical strength of our Party and its Central Committee. Armed with the Program, we Soviet Communists feel that we are rising to new heights which give us a clearer view of our communist future.

What gives us strength? First and foremost, Marxism-Leninism—our ever victorious and constantly developing doctrine. The process of socialist and communist construction is, at the same time, a process enriching Marxist-Leninist theory through the practical experience of the multimillion masses. The new Program is an outstanding theoretical and political document in which are summarized the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory on communism and the new conclusions drawn from the experience gained in implementing these principles in socialist and communist construction.

We are advancing along uncharted paths. We have to elaborate a large variety of problems arising in the course of communist construction, to develop and define concretely theoretical propositions. Just as the living organism cannot grow normally without sunlight, so communist construction cannot be accomplished unless its course is illuminated by Marxist-Leninist science. The task of our

Party is to constantly develop our Marxist-Leninist theory, this reliable compass which indicates the way to new victories of communism.

Comrades, we the delegates to the Twenty-Second Congress have the great honor of considering the adoption of the new Program of the C.P.S.U.—the program of communist construction. The realization of this Program ushers in a most radiant era in the history of mankind.

For centuries mankind dreamt of a society without exploitation, without social and national oppression, a society where the bloody scourge of war would not stalk people. Many died the death of heroes in the struggle for the people's cause. But the people's dream of happiness remained no more than a dream, and sorrow and tears their lot. The greatness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is that it has shown the realistic way to realizing the aspirations of the working people. To our Party has fallen the good fortune of translating into reality the first phase of communism, socialism, and of leading the Soviet people to the higher phase of communism.

By raising the torch of liberty, the banner of socialism and communism over the world, our Party has glorified the twentieth century as the century of revolutionary, sweeping changes in the destinies of man. The heroic struggle of the great army of Communists of all countries who have carried the masses along with them has accelerated the course of history, has brought closer the day of the realization of mankind's finest ideals. But how much faster history will advance when a communist society will have been built in the Soviet Union.

The communist cause is advancing with giant strides. The standard-bearers of communism, the Marxist-Leninist parties, have demonstrated that they are parties of revolutionaries and innovators, the makers of the people's happiness. Progressives in all countries associate with communism all that is most fine and most radiant. The forces of communism are legion. The truth of life, the truth of history is on the side of communism.

The triumph of communism was always the cherished, ultimate aim of the Leninist Party. This dream of communism is now becoming a reality. Not only our descendants, comrades, but we as well, our generation of Soviet people, shall live under communism! Knowledge of this inspires every Soviet citizen, spurs him on to live and work with unparalleled enthusiasm.

The Program shows everyone the place he should occupy in the ranks of the builders of communism, how to work and study for the good of communism, how to prepare oneself to live in a communist society. So let us, comrades, devote all our efforts, all our energies to hastening the day when the sun of communism will shine over our land!

The banner of Lenin inspired us in the struggle for the triumph of socialism. And we were victorious!

The banner of Lenin inspires us in the new historic stage of our country's development—the stage of communist construction!

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party, forward to the triumph of communism!

DOCUMENTS OF CURRENT HISTORY

The Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U.

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